THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE EARLIEST DAWN OF RECORD TO THE PEACE OF MDCCLXXXIII.

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Nihil eſt aptius ad delectationem lectoris, quàm temporum varietates fortunæque viciſſitudines. Cic. Epiſt. ad Fam.

VOL. II.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
AND SOLD BY C. STALKER, NO. 4. STATIONERS COURT; J. FLETCHER, OXFORD; THE MERRILS, CAMBRIDGE; AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.
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WILLIAM the CONQUEROR.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

From the NORMAN CONQUEST to the ACCESSION of HENRY II.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM the CONQUEROR.

Reflexions on the causes that promoted the success of William.—He marches towards London, receiving in his way the submissions of the people.—He accepts the sovereignty of England, and is crowned in Westminster Abbey.—He rewards his followers with English confiscations.—He courts the affection of the natives by some popular acts.—Commotions arise in England in consequence of Norman oppression.—Edwin and Morcar revolt from William, but are soon reduced to submission.—Further insurrections break out.—A numerous host of Danes land in England—but the influence of William's money sends them back into their own country.—The most inhuman devastations are committed by the Normans in the Northumbrian territories, by the king's order.—William establishes the feudal law in

England.—He gradually brings the greater part of the Engliſh lands into the poſſeſſion of his Norman officers.

A. D. 1066. HAD the body of the Engliſh nation been animated by a due portion of public ſpirit, the unfortunate conſequences of the Norman victory at Haſtings might have been avoided, and the temerity of a bold invader might have been puniſhed by the ruin of his army. If Edgar Atheling had poſſeſſed the genius of an Egbert or an Alfred, he might have united in his favor the diſcordant views of party, and, by calling forth the whole ſtrength of the kingdom, might have reſcued it from the impending yoke of a foreign conqueror. But ſeveral cauſes concurred to check the inclination of the Engliſh for reſiſtance, and promote that revolution for which the victorious Norman ſo eagerly wiſhed. The reader will anticipate me in the allegation of one cauſe, originating in the decay of that hardy valor, and of thoſe high ideas of national honor, which had formerly inſpired the efforts of the Saxons. They dreaded a renewal of the horrors of war, and the ravages of a fierce enemy, of whoſe proweſs and military ſkill they had had ſuch recent experience. Another cauſe was, the want of a leader of ſufficient authority and patriotiſm to moderate the divided intereſts, and unite them in one general plan of defence againſt the invaders. Edwin and Morcar, earls of Mercia and Northumberland, were the moſt powerful of thoſe nobles who ſurvived the late battle; but they ſeem to have acted with great indeciſion at this important criſis, and to have been more deſirous of gratifying their perſonal ambition, than of promoting the real welfare of their country. A third cauſe of the inactivity of the Engliſh on this occaſion, was perhaps the good opinion which

which they entertained of the Norman duke, who, A. D. 1066.
though occaſionally rigid in the adminiſtration of his paternal dominions, had generally adhered to the dictates of juſtice. They conceived, that the advantages which they might reap from a cheerful ſubmiſſion to William, would be preferable to the election of a native ſovereign, who, by accepting the crown, would embroil himſelf with a formidable competitor, and entail on the nation a ſeries of ſanguinary calamities.

As ſoon as Edwin and Morcar were informed of the death of Harold, they repaired to London, where they conferred with the remaining nobility on the meaſures that were moſt adviſable in the preſent exigency. Theſe ambitious brothers are ſaid to have ſolicited the Londoners to promote the election of one of them to the ſovereignty [1]; but their views were oppoſed by the majority, who reſolved, that Edgar Atheling ſhould be proclaimed king, and that a ſtrong army ſhould be levied with all poſſible diſpatch [2]. Theſe reſolutions, however, were adopted in a very tumultuary and indeciſive manner, in conſequence of the diviſions, the perplexities, and fears, which agitated the minds of the aſſembly, and diſtracted the ſentiments of the public.

While anxiety and diſſenſion pervaded the metropolis, the duke of Normandy prepared for the completion of his grand deſign. After continuing a few days at Haſtings, that the vigor of his ſoldiers might be recruited by reſt, he left a garriſon in that town, and proceeded to Romney, where he ſeverely chaſtiſed the townſmen for having maltreated the crew of one of his tranſports, which had accidentally touched at that port. He then marched to Dover, which being a

1. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iii. 2. R. de Dicet. edit. Twyſd. col. 480.—Gul. Pictav.—Hoved. Ann.

A. D. 1066. place of great importance, and furniſhed with ſtrong fortifications, he reſolved to attempt the reduction of it, that he might provide a retreat in caſe of any unfortunate event, and preſerve an eaſy communication between himſelf and his ſubjects on the continent.

The garriſon of Dover caſtle, and the inhabitants of the town, made only a faint reſiſtance, and ſoon ſurrendered to the fortunate invader, who, finding that ſome of his troops, in the intemperate fury of conqueſt, had ſet fire to a few houſes, immediately indemnified the proprietors 3. By this act of juſtice, he wiſhed to convince the Engliſh, that his intention was not to aſſume the deportment of a conqueror, but to act as their lawful ſovereign. A dyſentery prevailing among his forces, his march was retarded for ſome days, during which he employed his healthy workmen in giving additional ſtrength to the fortifications of Dover. Advancing towards London, he received on his way the general ſubmiſſion of the Kentiſh provincials, from whom he took hoſtages for their fidelity. His approach filled the capital with conſternation; and Edwin and Morcar, either diſguſted at the ill ſucceſs of their aſpiring ſchemes, or finding it impracticable to ſubdue the apprehenſions, and unite the efforts of the people, retired to the northward with all their vaſſals. Having croſſed the Thames at Wallingford, William proceeded through the counties of Oxford and Buckingham into Herts 4; while a detachment of his army remain-

3. Gul. Pictav. p 205.

4. Florence of Worceſter, and thoſe who follow him, viz. Simeon of Durham and Hoveden, affirm, that William's courſe was accompanied with much bloodſhed and devaſtation; but Malmſbury, whoſe authority is preferable, affirms, that the duke's march reſembled the progreſs of a ſovereign, and was unattended with the exerciſe of hoſtility—"non *hoſtili* ſed *regali* modo progrediens."

ed on the ſouth-ſide of the Thames, and endeavoured to ſtrike terror into the Londoners by burning Southwark. This ſevere act of hoſtility had ſome effect in augmenting the confuſion of the citizens; and the victory obtained by a ſquadron of Norman horſe over a party of Engliſh who had ſallied out of the city, completed the terror of the inhabitants [5], who now began to yield to the pacific remonſtrances of the clergy. The proſpect of a war appeared ſo dreadful in the eyes of this part of the community, whoſe valuable poſſeſſions could only be ſecure in time of peace, that they recommended a ready ſubjection to the duke of Normandy, of whoſe character, as a friend to the church, they had heard the higheſt encomiums. A. D. 1066.

All thoughts of further reſiſtance having vaniſhed from the minds of the Engliſh, William, who had advanced to Berkhamſted, was gratified with the ſubmiſſion of the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, ſeveral of the temporal nobles, and even of Edgar Atheling himſelf, whoſe humility of genius induced him to prefer the tranquillity of a private life to the ſtorms of power and ambition, and the dangerous heights of royal ſtation [6]. In return for their profeſſions of allegiance, he gave them plauſible declarations of his favorable diſpoſition towards the Engliſh, whom he promiſed to rule with juſtice and clemency, if they ſhould think proper to inveſt him with the ſovereignty of their country. Others of the nobility followed the example of yielding to the duke; and the crown was offered, with an appearance of complacency and ſatisfaction, to a perſon of that very nation, to which, in the Confeſſor's reign, the majority of the Engliſh had ſeemed ſo averſe, when that prince diſtributed preferments with ſo laviſh a hand among his

5. Order. Vital. p. 503. 6. Flor. Vigorn.—Hoved.

A. D. 1066. Norman viſitants. William pretended to wiſh for a more determinate and regular acknowledgment of his claim, and therefore affected to decline the preſent offer of the Engliſh crown; but his ſcruples, being inſincere, were eaſily removed, and he condeſcended to accept the ſplendid prize for which he had lately ſhed ſuch a torrent of blood. The gates of the capital were now opened for his reception; but his ſuſpicions of the fidelity of the Engliſh were ſo ſtrong, that, though he had received hoſtages from the citizens of London, as well as from the nobles who had ſubmitted to him, he was unwilling to enter the metropolis till his ſoldiers had erected a fortreſs in it, which he furniſhed with a conſiderable garriſon. As the feſtival of Chriſtmas was approaching, he fixed upon that anniverſary for the day of his coronation; and while the preparations for this ceremony were in agitation, he reſided at Barking in Eſſex, where he amuſed himſelf with the ſports of the field. In the morning of Chriſtmas day, he repaired to the new abbey of Weſtminſter in magnificent proceſſion, accompanied by many of the Engliſh nobility, and the principal of the Norman chieftains who had attended him from the continent. The prelate who officiated at the ſolemnity of the coronation was Aldred, archbiſhop of York, whom the new king preferred to Stigand of Canterbury, not only becauſe the latter had incurred the pope's diſpleaſure by the pretended informality of his appointment, and a ſuppoſed impropriety of conduct, but becauſe conſiſtency required that William, who had publicly complained of the injuſtice of Robert the Norman's expulſion from the archbiſhopric, ſhould regard Stigand as an illegal occupant of that ſee[7].

7. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iii.—Eadm. lib, i.—Ingulph. p. 512.—William of Newburgh, Brompton, and ſeveral other writers, repreſent Stigand as having refuſed to crown William.

Aldred

Aldred commenced the buſineſs of the day by a ſhort oration addreſſed to the Engliſh, at the cloſe of which he inquired of them whether they would permit William to be crowned as their king. They teſtified their aſſent by general ſhouts of applauſe; and the Normans received with equal approbation a ſimilar queſtion put to them by Gothofred, biſhop of Coutances. After this form of election, which the ſucceſs of William's arms had previouſly decided, he took the uſual oath, purporting that he would be a protector of the church, would enact juſt laws, repreſs all violence and rapine, and govern with equity and impartiality [8]. He then underwent the royal unction, and being placed on the throne, was inveſted with the diadem of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The acclamations which took place on this occaſion were ſo loud and vehement, and the confuſed ſounds of Engliſh and foreign voices were ſo alarming to the Norman ſoldiers, who had been ſtationed round the abbey for the ſecurity of their maſter, that, apprehenſive of the ſiniſter intentions and the treachery of the natives, they reſolved on immediate revenge. In the firſt ebullition of their fury, they ſet fire to the adjacent houſes; and the tumult that enſued ſo terrified the ſpectators of the coronation, that they ran in haſte out of the abbey-church; but the exertions of William at length put an end to a riot, in which the aggreſſors exhibited a ſtrong proof of the precipitancy and violence of the Norman character, and kindled the jealouſy already entertained of them by the Engliſh into no ſmall degree of animoſity and hatred [9]. A. D. 1066.

After the coronation, the king returned to his ſtation at Barking, and there received the ſurrender of Edwin and Morcar, Edric the Foreſter, and other noblemen of great power and wealth, who found it ex- A. D. 1067

8. Hoved. Ann. p. 258. 9. Order. Vital. p. 503.

A. D. 1067. pedient to be no longer influenced by a ſpirit of oppoſition to the new government. William treated them with affability and courteſy, and confirmed them in the enjoyment of their honors and poſſeſſions. At the ſame time, he confiſcated the eſtates not only of all the Engliſh who had loſt their lives in the battle of Haſtings, but alſo of the majority of thoſe ſurvivors who had appeared in arms againſt him.

By theſe acceſſions of property, added to a great number of preſents, by which the cities, towns, and opulent individuals of his new kingdom, courted his clemency and favor, he was enabled to reward the ſervices of his Norman warriors, whoſe courage and fidelity had ſecured the accompliſhment of his ambitious ſchemes. His opportunities of gratifying the avidity of his followers, and of liquidating the debts which he had contracted towards the charges of his expedition, were increaſed by the poſſeſſion of the valuable treaſures of Harold, which he had ſeiſed immediately after his acquiſition of that prince's crown. As the countenance of the pope, in that age of ſuperſtition, had promoted the fortunate iſſue of his enterpriſe, he conferred on his holineſs a pecuniary preſent; and, in return for the conſecrated banner which the pontiff had ſent him, and which he had diſplayed in the field of Haſtings, he tranſmitted to Rome the ſtandard of Harold, remarkable for it's elegant workmanſhip, and enriched with gold and jewels. He alſo ſent rich ornaments, and other teſtimonies of his bounty, to the principal churches and monaſteries of the continent, in which maſſes had been performed for his ſucceſs[10].

To conciliate the minds of the Engliſh, he made a progreſs into various parts of the kingdom, where

[10]. Gul. Pictav.

his

his behaviour was ſo affable and attractive, as to ſoften the jealouſy, and quiet the alarms, of the natives; while his regulations for preſerving the peace of the country were ſo prudent and judicious, that their opinion of his policy kept pace with their admiration of his juſtice. But, while he thus oſtenſibly courted the good-will of his new ſubjects, whom he affected to treat with as much favor as the Normans, he endeavoured to guard againſt the ill conſequences of their diſaffection, by erecting fortreſſes in the principal cities of England, which he garriſoned with the moſt loyal and courageous of his troops. From the ſame motives, he obliged the inhabitants of London and ſeveral other towns to ſurrender thoſe arms which, by the military inſtitutes of the Anglo-Saxon kings, they had hitherto retained. To atone for this ſeverity, he granted to the metropolis a confirmation of the immunities which it had enjoyed before his arrival in England; and the ſame favor was not denied to the other cities of the realm. A.D. 1067.

The popular meaſures of William having pacified, to all appearance, the reſentments of the vanquiſhed, while his eſtabliſhment of a ſtanding army of Normans ſeemed to preclude all apprehenſions of a ſucceſsful revolt, he flattered himſelf that his new dominions were ſo far ſecured and ſettled as to remove the neceſſity of his continued preſence. He therefore made a voyage to his native country, accompanied not only by his Norman favorites, but likewiſe by Edgar Atheling, the earls Edwin and Morcar, archbiſhop Stigand, earl Waltheof (ſon of the illuſtrious Siward), and other Engliſhmen of rank and power, whom he carried over with him as the ornaments of his triumph, and as pledges for the fidelity of their countrymen. On his arrival in Normandy, he received the congratulations of the French court, by the medium of Rodolph, father-in-law

A. D. 1067. to the reigning monarch, who, with a numerous train, viſited the new ſovereign of England, at the abbey of Feſcamp. Here William ſolemniſed the paſchal feſtival with ſuch magnificence as excited the admiration of the princes and nobles who flocked to his court from different parts of the continent. The Engliſh nobility, in particular, made a ſtriking appearance; for they ſeemed deſirous of making the moſt brilliant diſplay of their wealth and grandeur, with a view of captivating the eyes of the foreigners, and enhancing their opinion of Engliſh taſte and opulence [11].

On the king's departure, the government of England had been intruſted to his brother-in-law Odo biſhop of Bayeux, on whom he had beſtowed the title of earl of Kent, and to another diſtinguiſhed Norman of the name of William Fitz-Oſbern, whom he had created earl of Hereford. Theſe regents either did not attempt, or had not ſufficient power, to curb the licentious and rapacious ſpirit of the Norman troops quartered in the kingdom, who behaved towards the Engliſh with the ſame arrogance, violence, and injuſtice [12], which had formerly characteriſed the Daniſh coloniſts. Their conduct, in every reſpect, was ſuch as furniſhed the enemies of William with a plauſible reaſon for ſuppoſing, that he had given ſecret inſtructions to his officers to endeavour to provoke the Engliſh to a rebellion, that he might be enabled, by the confiſcations which would accrue on the ſuppreſſion of it, to make further diſtributions among his followers, whoſe rapacity was ſo inſatiable, that they began to be clamorous and diſcontented, as if their leader had not rewarded them in proportion to their eminent deſerts.

Repeated inſtances of Norman inſult and oppreſſion ſo irritated the feelings of the Engliſh, that open inſur-

11. Gul. Pictav. p. 211. 12. Order. Vital. p. 507.

rections

rections ſucceeded the murmurs of complaint. The A.D. 1067.
firſt commotion was kindled by the inhabitants of Kent, who found means to intereſt Euſtace earl of Boulogne in their favor. This confederate having croſſed the channel with a body of troops, the Kentiſh inſurgents joined him, and the ſiege of Dover was inſtantly formed. But the garriſon being numerous and well-prepared for reſiſtance, the aſſailants were repulſed with loſs by a ſally from the caſtle; an event which ſo diſcouraged Euſtace, that he returned with his followers to the continent. His nephew being taken priſoner in the ſkirmiſh, was puniſhed by the forfeiture of the lands which he held in England[13].

In the mean time, the Norman ſoldiers ſtationed in Herefordſhire committed ſuch depredations in the adjoining counties, particularly in the lands belonging to Edric the Foreſter, that this ſpirited nobleman reſolved to retaliate their ravages. He had before encountered theſe freebooters on different occaſions, and had put many of them to the ſword; but he now carried his arms into the heart of their ſtation, and, with the aſſiſtance of Blethyn and Rhywallon, princes of North-Wales, waſted and plundered thoſe parts of Herefordſhire which had been conferred on Norman chieftains[14]. Beſides theſe commotions, others of leſs moment diſturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom, parties of Engliſh making occaſional ſallies from the woods upon the Normans, many of whom were thus ſacrificed. Such was the diſaffection of the natives to the new government, that earl Coxo was ſlain by his own vaſſals for refuſing to head them in a revolt; and a ſcheme is ſaid to have been in agitation for a general

13. Order. Vital. lib. iv.—Gul. Gemet. lib. vi.
14. Sim. Dunelm. col. 197.—Matth. Weſtm.

maſ-

A. D. 1067. maſſacre of the inſolent foreigners who garriſoned the country [15].

While William was gratifying his vanity among his Norman ſubjects, and enjoying his triumph over the Engliſh, he received intelligence of the tumults and inſurrections which had haraſſed the government of Odo and Fitz-Oſbern. Anxious for the preſervation of his new conqueſt, he prepared for his return to England; and his arrival reſtored, for a ſhort time, the peace of the kingdom. He confiſcated the poſſeſſions of the revolters, and beſtowed them on his favorite countrymen. He then completed the diviſion of the eſtates forfeited by the adherents of king Harold, which had been adjudged to confiſcation before his late departure; and, to recruit his treaſury, renewed the tax of Danegeld, by his ſole authority, on pretence of providing againſt an expected invaſion from the Danes. The revival of this obnoxious impoſt arouſed the complaints of the Engliſh, jealous of every act of power in their new ſovereign; but they were ſoothed by another meaſure calculated for the ſuppreſſion of the diſcontents which the rapacity of his officers had produced; for he ordered a reſtoration of the lands which had been unjuſtly ſeiſed by the Normans in his abſence [16].

Though the greater part of England had ſubmitted to William, the citizens of Exeter refuſed to take the oath of allegiance to him, or admit a garriſon of Normans. The influence of Githa, the mother of the late king, who had been permitted by the Conqueror to reſide unmoleſted in that city, was, in all probability, the principal cauſe of the refractory ſpirit of the

A. D. 1068. inhabitants. William having marched in the middle of winter to ſtop the progreſs of this diſaffection, which had ſpread through the counties of Devon and Corn-

15. Gul. Gemet. 16. Chron. Sax. p. 173.

wall,

wall, was met, on his approach to Exeter, by the chief citizens, who atoned for their offence by the offer of ſubmiſſion and the delivery of hoſtages. But the majority of the people diſclaimed theſe ſtipulations, and reſolved to act on the defenſive; which ſo enraged the king, that he produced one of the hoſtages before the walls, and commanded his eyes to be put out. This cruelty not diſpiriting the inhabitants ſo effectually as to induce them to ſubmit, William inveſted the city in form, and prepared to undermine the walls, till at length the beſieged thought proper to ſurrender at diſcretion, and implore the mercy of the victor. His conduct, on this occaſion, did not diſappoint their hopes; for he granted pardon to the inſurgents, and, by planting guards at the gates, reſcued the city from military outrage and depredation [17]. If Githa had remained with thoſe whom ſhe had encouraged in their oppoſition to William, ſhe would doubtleſs have been an object of his clemency; but ſhe had taken an opportunity of eſcaping, with all her portable effects, into Flanders. Having ordered a citadel to be built at Exeter, he appointed a corps of Normans to garriſon it, under the command of Baldwin de Molis, whom he promoted to the government of the whole county, on it's following the example of ſubmiſſion which it's capital had been compelled to give. He now marched into Cornwall, which he quickly reduced to order and tranquillity. After this ſucceſsful expedition, he reſided for ſome time at Wincheſter, where his wife Matilda, who, with his eldeſt ſon Robert, had acted as regent in Normandy, joined her victorious lord. She was crowned by archbiſhop Aldred on the Whit-Sunday following, and added a fourth ſon to the family of William before the expiration of the year. A. D. 1068.

17. Order. Vital. p. 510.—Hoved. p. 258.

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A.D. 1068. The diſcontents of the Engliſh at the ſeverity with which the confiſcations of the lands of Harold's partiſans were conducted, as well as at the arrogance and tyranny of the Normans, had now become ſo violent and acrimonious as to threaten a formidable revolt. They ſuſpected, that, though the king diſclaimed the title of a conqueror, he was eager to eſtabliſh a tyrannical dominion over his new ſubjects by the aid of a ſtanding army of foreigners; and that he concealed, under the maſk of a complacent demeanor, a ſtrong jealouſy of the Engliſh, and a full determination of depreſſing them to the utmoſt of his power. Edwin and his brother encouraged the murmurs of their countrymen, whoſe hopes of ſucceſs were elevated by the proſpect of ſupport which they expected from theſe popular noblemen. William, aware of the influence of the two brothers, had courted their regard with his uſual arts, and had intereſted their ambition by promiſing one of his daughters in marriage to Edwin: but, when the performance of this promiſe was claimed, the king refuſed to comply with his engagement. Impatient of this treatment, reſenting alſo the ſuſpicions which William ſeemed to entertain of them, and apprehending a ſeries of tyranny from the confiſcation of the property of thoſe who had committed no other offence than that of ſupporting their king Harold againſt the attempts of an invader, Edwin and Morcar reſolved to make a vigorous effort for the expulſion of their Norman ſovereign. They entered into a confederacy with Sweyn, king of Denmark, Malcolm, king of Scotland, and Blethyn, prince of North-Wales, from whom they received promiſes of aſſiſtance. They levied an army without delay, and being joined by a body of Welſh, erected the ſtandard of revolt in the Northumbrian province [18].

18. Order. Vital. p. 511.

On

On the first intelligence of this insurrection, William advanced to the northward, giving orders, in his march, for the erection of fortresses at Warwick and Nottingham. His approach alarming the brothers, who were not yet sufficiently strong to withstand the veteran forces which he commanded, they condescended to supplicate his pardon. Not thinking it prudent to behave with severity towards these favorites of the English, he admitted them to mercy, and proceeded to quell the remains of the rebellion. On his arrival at York, he received the submission of the citizens, and ordered a fortress to be built, for securing their future obedience. While he continued in this city, Archil, a powerful Northumbrian nobleman, who had been a party in the revolt, solicited and obtained his forgiveness, which was also extended to Egelwin, bishop of Durham. The Scottish king being on his march to join the insurgents, the mediation of Egelwin, co-operating with the submission of Edwin and Morcar, induced him to make peace with William, to whom, by proxy, he did homage for the Cumbrian principality, and the Lothian province. After re-establishing without bloodshed the peace of the north, William returned toward the south, and gave directions for building castles at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge [19]. A. D. 1068.

While the king was in the Northumbrian territories, Godwin, Edmund, and Magnus, who had fled into Ireland on the death of their father Harold, returned to England with hostile intentions; and making a descent in the west, were attacked by Eadnoth, an English officer, whom they slew in battle. They then plundered the country, and escaped with their booty to Ireland [20]. During these hostilities in the western pro-

19. Chron. Abb. Petriburg. — Hoved. Ann. — Order. Vital.
20. Hoved. p. 258.

vinces,

A. D. 1068. vinces, detached bodies of Engliſh aſſailed the Normans in other parts of the kingdom, and ravaged the lands which had been granted to thoſe foreigners.

The work of proſcription being ſtill carried on in ſo oppreſſive a manner, as to give cauſe for apprehending the complete erection of Norman power on the ruins of Engliſh liberty, and the depreſſion of every family of Saxon or Daniſh origin, the practice of emigration began to prevail. Many of the Engliſh nobles fled into other countries from the jealous tyranny of William, and the continual encroachments of his followers, whoſe avidity prompted them to aggravate their ſovereign's ſuſpicions of the fidelity of his recent ſubjects, that their hopes of new confiſcations might be the ſooner gratified. Coſpatric, Merleſwein, and other noblemen, retired to the court of Malcolm, having prevailed on Edgar Atheling to accompany them. This prince, though openly careſſed by William, had an unfavorable opinion of that monarch's ſincerity; and therefore embraced the opportunity of making his retreat with theſe noble exiles, attended by his mother and his two ſiſters. Malcolm received them with great humanity and politeneſs; and ſoon contracted an alliance with the Saxon blood-royal by eſpouſing Margaret, the elder of Edgar's ſiſters. By beſtowing lands on the principal of theſe fugitives, he encouraged the reſort of others, who were diſguſted at the ſeverity of the Norman adminiſtration [21].

A. D. 1069. The following year exhibited an extended ſcene of inſurrections, ariſing from the animoſity of the Engliſh againſt the Normans: but, though the attempts of the former were aſſiſted by foreign invaſion, the latter ultimately prevailed over all oppoſition. Robert de Cumin having been appointed by William to the go-

21. Flor. Vigorn.—Matth. Par.—Buchan. Scot. Hiſt.

vern-

vernment of Durham, a conſpiracy was formed by the Northumbrians to prevent him from exerciſing the power thus delegated to him, and even to put him to death in caſe of his proving refractory. Though warned of his danger by Egelwin biſhop of that dioceſe, who, grateful for the pardon which he had lately received from the king, continued faithful to him, he entered Durham, with 700 Norman ſoldiers, and permitted them to treat the natives with hoſtility. The conſpirators ruſhed into the city the next morning, ſlew every Norman whom they chanced to meet, and beſieged the governor in the biſhop's manſion, which being reſolutely defended, was at length ſet on fire by the aſſailants, and thoſe who eſcaped the flames were put to the ſword by the incenſed Engliſh[22]. The contagion of revolt ſpreading, the inhabitants of York attacked the caſtle which the king had erected in their city, and ſlew the Norman governor with many of his followers. They continued the ſiege of the fortreſs till William arrived with ſuccours, and repulſed the beſiegers with great carnage. He then built another fort at York, and returned to Wincheſter; while the Engliſh renewed the ſiege on his departure[23]. A. D. 1069.

A ſtorm now impended over the throne of William, which threatened to ſhake it to it's centre. The ſons of Harold, with the aſſiſtance of one of the Hibernian princes, were preparing for another deſcent on England: a formidable fleet and army were expected from Denmark, to co-operate with the Engliſh for the expulſion of the Norman tyrant: Malcolm, deſirous of embroiling the government of William, readily promiſed his aid to the efforts of an oppreſſed people; and

22. Sim. Dunelm. col. 198. — Chron. Mailr.
23. Order. Vital. p. 512.

A. D. 1069. ſome of the Welſh princes expreſſed an inclination to embark in the ſame cauſe. Had a regular plan been concerted by theſe confederates, it is probable that all the exertions of William would not have prevented his ruin. The ancient courage of the Engliſh, inflamed to vengeance by inſult and injury, and aided by the active intrepidity of the Iriſh, the enterpriſing ferocity of the Danes, the hardy valor of the Scots, and the warlike alacrity of the Welſh, would perhaps, in caſe of harmonious concert, have proved ſuperior to the boaſted diſcipline of the Normans, though animated by ſo renowned a commander.

The ſons of Harold, having collected in Ireland a fleet of ſixty-ſix ſail, invaded the county of Devon: but their expedition had an unfortunate iſſue; for they received two defeats from Briaux, ſon of the earl of Bretagne, and having loſt 1700 of their men, retired to their ſhips with diſgrace and mortification[24]. Soon after the retreat of theſe invaders, a more numerous armament appeared on the Engliſh coaſts, conſiſting of 240 Daniſh veſſels, commanded by Oſbern, brother to the king of Denmark, who was accompanied in this enterpriſe by that prince's ſons Harold and Canute. After landing on different parts of the coaſt, and ravaging the country till they were repulſed to their ſhips, the Danes entered the Humber, where they were joined by Edgar Atheling, earl Coſpatric, Merleſwein, and other perſons of rank who had emigrated to Scotland in the preceding year, and who now returned to England with views of open hoſtility. To a body of Scottiſh troops furniſhed by Malcolm, Edgar and his friends quickly added a ſtrong corps of Northumbrians. Theſe united forces advanced towards the city of York, which they beſieged with confidence and alacrity.

24. Gul. Gemet. lib. vi.—Ord. Vital.

Wil-

William Malet, the Norman governor, apprehenſive leſt the enemy ſhould make uſe of the houſes contiguous to the two forts for the purpoſe of filling up the foſſes, ſet fire to the neareſt habitations, without conſidering the probable extent of the danger. The wind augmenting the fury of the flames, the greater part of the city was involved in the conflagration. The Danes and their allies, availing themſelves of this unexpected circumſtance, furiouſly ruſhed into the town; and being joined by the inhabitants, whom the deſtruction of their houſes and effects had rendered deſperate, they made a general attack on the two fortreſſes, took them by ſtorm, and inflicted military execution on the whole garriſon, amounting to above 3000 men, ſparing none but the governor and other principal officers [25]. A. D. 1069.

William, alarmed at theſe commotions, haſtened into the North, with a reſolution of treating the Northumbrians with peculiar rigor. In his way he routed a body of inſurgents at Stafford; and, before his arrival at York, he found means to detach the Danes from the intereſt of the rebels, by appealing to the avarice of their commander Oſbern, to whom he offered a conſiderable ſum of money, and the liberty of committing rapine on the Engliſh coaſts for the ſubſiſtence of his forces in the enſuing winter, on condition that he would return to Denmark in the ſpring. Theſe propoſals being gladly accepted by the Daniſh leader, William inveſted York, with hopes of ſpeedy ſucceſs. Though the garriſon, conſiſting of Engliſh and Scottiſh ſoldiers, reſiſted ſeveral violent aſſaults, famine at length compelled them to capitulate. Earl Waltheof, who had aſſumed the government of York after it had been taken by the confederates, defended

25. Hoved. p. 258.—Brompt. Chron.—Annal. Waverl.

A. D. 1069. it with ſuch extraordinary valor, as to excite the admiration of the king, who received him into favor, confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of his eſtates, and gave him other lands, accompanied with the hand of his niece Judith. Coſpatric was alſo indulged with the royal clemency, for which he condeſcended to become a ſuppliant [25].

While the northern parts of the kingdom were thus agitated, the more ſouthern counties were not wholly free from inteſtine diſturbance. Hereward, an Eaſt-Anglian nobleman, proved a conſtant ſcourge to the Normans, whoſe detached parties he attacked with amazing intrepidity and ſucceſs. Edric the Foreſter, with the aid of a body of Welſh, formed the ſiege of Shrewſbury; but the ſtrength of the place baffling his aſſaults, he retired from the walls, and employed his arms in occaſional ſkirmiſhes with Norman parties. The inhabitants of the ſhires of Dorſet and Somerſet roſe in rebellion, and aſſailed the obnoxious foreigners; but the biſhop of Coutances, aſſuming the military character, vanquiſhed theſe revolters in the field.

The county of Devon alſo became the ſeat of a temporary inſurrection, it's inhabitants joining with thoſe of Cornwall in beſieging Exeter; but the citizens, remembering with gratitude the clemency with which the king had treated them, cordially co-operated with the Norman garriſon in the defence of the town, and compelled the beſiegers to deſiſt from their attempt [27].

When the tumults of the realm were allayed, the king paſſed a tranquil winter at York; but his joy at the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion did not repreſs that thirſt of vengeance with which his mind was in-

26. Flor. Vigorn.—Hoved.—Gul. Malmſb.
27. Ord. Vital. p. 514.

flamed.

flamed. Not content with ordering a general confiſcation of the property of thoſe who had been concerned in the late inſurrections, he ravaged the Northumbrian territories, particularly the counties of York and Durham, with the moſt inhuman ſeverity. Thoſe whom the ſword ſpared, ſaw themſelves deprived of every thing which could tend to the comfort or even to the ſupport of life. Their habitations were conſumed by fire; their cattle were ſeiſed; the fruits of the earth, as well as the implements of agriculture, were deſtroyed; and the whole country, to a conſiderable extent, was reduced to a ſtate of depopulation by the united attacks of famine and the ſword [28]. Many of the wretched Northumbrians fled into the low-lands of Scotland, the eaſtern inhabitants of which, being of Saxon origin, ſtretched out to them the hand of humanity. Others, taking refuge in the woods and mountains from the fury of their Norman enemies, were conſtrained to eat the moſt loathſome and repulſive food, before the extremity of hunger put an end to their lives. A Norman hiſtorian computes the number of perſons, of both ſexes, deſtroyed on this occaſion by famine and ſlaughter, at 100,000 [29]. A. D. 1069. A. D. 1070.

After having thus emulated the barbarity of an Alaric or an Attila, William conducted his army to Cheſter, where he was viſited by Edric the Foreſter, whoſe great qualities procured his pardon. He left a garriſon in this city, as well as at Stafford; and returning to Wincheſter, was crowned at Eaſter by Ermenfred biſhop of Sion, who had lately arrived in England as the pope's legate. In the mean time,

28. Sim. Dunelm. col. 199. — Chron. Sax. p. 174. — Gul. Malmſb. lib. iii.

29. Ord. Vital. p. 515.

A. D. 1070. an army of Scots, commanded by their king in perſon, marched out of Cumberland into the Northumbrian provinces, and furiouſly ravaged thoſe parts which had eſcaped the devaſtation of the Normans. Malcolm's principal aim was plunder, not the aſſiſtance of his allies. While he was completing the depopulation of theſe diſtricts, by putting the aged to the ſword, and carrying off the young as captives, earl Coſpatric, now a partiſan of William, invaded Malcolm's Cumbrian territories, and having retaliated the ravages of the Scots, marched into Northumberland, where he haraſſed theſe depredators with ſuch ſucceſs, that they haſtily retired with their ſpoils into their own country. During this expedition of the Scottiſh king, Edgar Atheling, who had paſſed the winter with the Danes in the vicinity of the Humber, returned to Scotland with ſome Engliſh noblemen who were attached to his fortunes [30].

Theſe abortive attempts to ſubvert the power of William ſerved only to fix it on a ſtronger baſis. The eaſy diſcomfiture of the malecontents ſeemed to preclude all their hopes of future ſucceſs: the extermination of thoſe who had been the moſt active in their rebellious efforts, and the deſolation of that country which had afforded a ready avenue to foreign invaders, promiſed a continuance of peace; and the numerous forfeitures conſequent on the late inſurrections, in proportion as they weakened the force of the diſaffected Engliſh, ſtrengthened the hands of the encroaching Normans, and not only engaged their gratitude to ſupport the government of their royal benefactor, but ſtimulated ſuch as had not been hitherto rewarded to watch every appearance of ſedition with the moſt anxious vigilance, which, notwithſtanding

30. Sim. Dunelm.

their

their desire of encouraging the diffusion of revolt, that the greater number of individuals might be involved in the penalties annexed to it, still provided against any dangerous crisis. A. D. 1070.

The series of confiscations which had taken place since the accession of William, had produced a great revolution in the property of the English lands; and the estates which the king was thus enabled to bestow on his followers, were distributed by him with all the accompaniments of the feudal law. The possessors were to hold them immediately of the crown, under the condition of performing various services, and making stated payments, to the sovereign; and the three obligations to which the land-holders were subjected by the Anglo-Saxon kings, namely, military attendance, the erection and defence of the royal castles, and the reparation of the highways and bridges, were multiplied into the burthensome and restrictive appendages of the feudal system. The persons who held these lands of the king, and who were styled barons, granted a portion of them to other individuals, on the same conditions of homage, service, and payment, that were annexed to the tenure by which they themselves held of the crown. William's power being now firmly established, he ventured to extend these innovations to the lands of the church [31], regardless of the murmurs and complaints of the clergy, who reprobated the measure as an arbitrary encroachment on their privileges and immunities. At the time of his making this attack on the ecclesiastics, he endeavoured to provide against the ill effects which the resentment of so powerful a body of men might produce, by removing those prelates and abbots whose influence over the people he dreaded, or whose fidelity he pretended to suspect—in

31. Whart. Anglia Sacra, vol. i.—Matth. Par. ad ann. 1070.

A. D. 1070. other words, by depriving the Engliſh of every high preferment in the church, and filling their places with his countrymen. He did not, however, execute this deſign by his own immediate authority, but thought it moſt prudent to cover his intentions under the ſhadow of the papal ſupremacy. A ſynod being convoked at Wincheſter, at the requiſition of biſhop Ermenfred and two other legates of the holy ſee, cogniſance was taken of the caſe of Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe popularity among the Engliſh had excited the jealouſy of the Conqueror, while his great eſtates, and plurality of preferments, marked him out as a deſirable object of rapacity. This prelate was accuſed of having intruded into the primacy while Robert, the lawful archbiſhop, was living; of having retained the ſee of Wincheſter with the archbiſhopric; and of having received his pall from Benedict X. a ſimoniacal uſurper of the popedom. The influence of the legates, and the well-known inclinations of the king, produced the condemnation of Stigand, who was degraded from his ſpiritual dignity, and diveſted of his temporal poſſeſſions; and, as if this ſeverity had been inſufficient, he was deprived of his perſonal liberty, being obliged to paſs the remaining term of his life in priſon at Wincheſter, ſupported by a very ſmall allowance from the royal treaſury [32]. In the ſame council, Agelmar biſhop of Elmham, and ſeveral abbots of the moſt opulent monaſteries, were diſpoſſeſſed of their dignities on the moſt frivolous pretences. In a ſubſequent ſynod,

32. Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Pontif. lib. i. We are informed by this writer, that, after Stigand's death, a conſiderable quantity of money belonging to him was diſcovered in a ſubterranean receſs, his vexation and reſentment at the injuſtice of his treatment having ſo far prevailed over the deſire of comfort or luxury, that he had not, during his whole confinement, applied any part of his ſecret treaſure to the purpoſes of life.

Agelric

Agelric biſhop of Selſey, and many reſpectable abbots, were ſubjected to unmerited deprivation; and this ſentence was followed by the immediate impriſonment of the condemned eccleſiaſtics. A. D. 1070.

By theſe and other exertions of arbitrary power, the ſees which, at the time of the conqueſt, had been in the poſſeſſion of Engliſh clergymen, were transferred into foreign hands: but it muſt be obſerved, that the biſhops thus deprived, formed only a part of the epiſcopal bench, many Normans and other foreigners having been promoted to Engliſh ſees by Edward the Confeſſor; and from the general depoſition of the native prelates, there was one ſolitary exception in the perſon of Wulſtan biſhop of Worceſter, who, though he diſpleaſed the king by his firmneſs in demanding the manors which had been diſmembered from that ſee by archbiſhop Aldred, when he was tranſlated from Worceſter to York, and which William had ſeiſed on that prelate's death, was not only permitted to retain his biſhopric, but even procured the full reſtitution of the manors claimed by him [33].

While the king evinced his deſpotic jealouſy, and groſs partiality, by the deprivation and impriſonment of eccleſiaſtics who had given him no cauſe of diſpleaſure, he gave a ſpecimen of his avarice and rapacity in pillaging every monaſtery throughout the kingdom; and the commiſſioners whom he employed for this purpoſe executed their office with great rigor, not ſparing the ſhrines and ſacred treaſures, though their oſtenſible inſtructions were confined to the ſeiſure of ſuch money, plate, and jewels, as had been lodged in the religious houſes by the inſurgents [34]. Theſe acts of rapine increaſed the diſſatisfaction of the Engliſh; but

33. Hoved. p. 259, 260.—Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Pontif. lib. iv.

34. Ann. Waverl.—Chron. Sprot.—Hoved.

the

A. D. 1070. the wealth accruing from the meaſure conſoled William for the obloquy and clamor with which it was attended. Willing, however, to mingle ſome mark of favor with the general tyranny of his conduct, he conſented, at the ſolicitations of ſeveral of his prelates, to reſtore a part of the code of laws which had been in uſe during the reign of the Confeſſor [35]. This conceſſion did not compoſe the minds of the Engliſh ſo effectually, as to prevent a renewal of inſurrection. Their two principal nobles, Edwin and Morcar, were ſtill regarded by the king with a jealous eye. He knew that their influence was extenſive, and that they were almoſt the only natives ſufficiently conſiderable to give vigor to a rebellion. They had not given their concurrence to the late attempt of the Northumbrians for ſhaking off the Norman yoke; but their adherence to William, at a time when ſo favorable an occaſion offered for the manifeſtation of their diſcontent, had not allayed the ſuſpicions of the tyrant. Some of his courtiers thirſted for the valuable poſſeſſions of theſe noblemen, whom they repreſented to the king as diſaffected to his perſon and adminiſtration. He is ſaid to have formed the reſolution of apprehending them, that they might not be at liberty to diſturb his ſway [36]. Aware of his ſiniſter views, theſe unfortunate brothers ſecretly retired from court, with the vain hopes of anticipating, by a ſucceſsful revolt, the malignant vengeance

35. Brompt. Chron.—Ingulph.—It was about this time, that William introduced into England a regulation which he had before eſtabliſhed in his continental dominions, for the prevention of nocturnal riots and conflagrations. He ordered that all the common people, on pain of death, ſhould extinguiſh their fires and candles at eight o'clock in the evening, on the ringing of a bell, which, from the purpoſe to which it was appropriated, derived the Norman appellation of *couvre-feu*, corrupted by the Engliſh into *curfew*.

36. Hoved. p. 260.

of

of the king; though it is intimated by one hiſtorian [37], that the ſole motive of their flight was the wiſh of eſcaping from danger, not the idea of rebellion. Edwin haſtened into the North, while Morcar repaired to the iſle of Ely, which the gallant Hereward, ſtill an enemy to the Normans, had fixed upon for his head-quarters. This was the retreat of many independent ſpirits, who diſdained the oppreſſive yoke of inſulting foreigners. William, alarmed at the reſort of the Engliſh to this natural fortreſs, reſolved to attempt the ſpeedy reduction of the iſle. Having erected a ſtrong caſtle at Wiſbech, he endeavoured to prevent, by a blockade, the introduction of proviſions or reinforcements; and, to accelerate the ſubmiſſion of the rebels, he ſeiſed ſuch of the lands, belonging to the monaſtery of Ely, as were ſituated without the limits of the iſle; a meaſure which operated ſo forcibly on the minds of the abbot and his monks, that they entered into a private negotiation with the king, ſtipulating that, if he would reſtore their lands, they would put him in poſſeſſion of one of the avenues to the iſle. Theſe terms being accepted by William, a party of his troops procured an eaſy admittance: and the others following, the rebel chiefs thought proper to ſurrender, except Hereward, who, being acquainted with the circumjacent country, eſcaped through the fens with a ſmall band of followers. Earl Morcar, Egelwin biſhop of Durham, Siward-Bearn, and other perſons of diſtinction who were found in the number of the revolters, were condemned to perpetual confinement; while moſt of the inferior inſurgents were puniſhed with the loſs of their hands or their eyes [38]. A. D. 1071.

During

37. Order. Vitalis.

38. Hoved. p. 260. Hiſt. Elienſ.—Hen. Hunt. — Matthew Paris, in his life of Frederic abbot of St. Alban's, repreſents that eccleſiaſtic

as

A. D. 1071. During these transactions, Edwin fell a sacrifice to the treachery of three brothers, in whom he had been accustomed to repose much confidence. While he was on his way to the court of the Scottish monarch, he was intercepted, on the information of these faithless wretches, by a party of Normans, against whom he and his followers defended themselves with great courage; but the inequality of force gave them such a disadvantage in the encounter, that they found it impracticable to escape with their lives. The English sincerely lamented the premature catastrophe of Edwin, which drew tears even from the obdurate William, when the head of that nobleman was presented to him by his betrayers. Though the consequences of the perfidy proved agreeable to him, in furnishing him with an opportunity of seising the ample estates of the defunct, he testified his abhorrence of the conduct of the traitors by ordering them to instant banishment [39].

The possessions of Edwin and his captive brother being now added to the list of forfeitures, and divided among the adventurers who had contributed to the

as having planned, about this time, a revolt against William, in favor of Edgar Atheling, who (according to this author) came from Scotland to head the insurgents. The king, by the advice of Lanfranc, the new archbishop of Canterbury, admitted the chiefs of the rebel army to a conference, in which he pacified their minds by agreeing to some of the terms proposed by them, and confirmed his promise by an oath; but, as soon as the revolters had laid down their arms, he violated the conditions to which he had sworn, imprisoned many of them, and confiscated their estates. From some of the particulars interwoven with this story, and from the silence of other ancient writers on the subject of it, it seems to have been partly borrowed from the account of another insurrection; and the concluding part of it may perhaps dispose us to believe, that it was the fabrication of a monk, for blackening the character of William, and that Paris, without sufficient inquiry into it's authenticity, may have transcribed it from the writings of it's monkish inventor.

39. Ord. Vital. p. 521.

success

ſucceſs of William's arms, the greater part of the Engliſh lands were by this time removed from the poſſeſſion of the natives into the hands of foreign intruders; and the feudal tenure to which they were ſubjected preſented to the king the pleaſing proſpect of a ſtanding army of his countrymen, ready to march at his beck, and prepared, by inclination and gratitude, to ſupport his authority over the vanquiſhed and deſpiſed Anglo-Saxons. Further inſurrections he rather wiſhed than dreaded, as he was convinced that they would expoſe him to no real danger, and that the ſuppreſſion of them would augment his reſources for completing and perpetuating the dominion of the Normans in England. A. D. 1071.

The ceſſation of interior diſturbances gave William leiſure to turn his attention towards Scotland; and he now undertook an expedition into that kingdom, to demand ſatisfaction of Malcolm for his encouragement of the Engliſh malecontents, and his unprovoked devaſtation of the Northumbrian territories. He was met by a Scottiſh army of conſiderable ſtrength; but, after the two kings had ſtood on the defenſive for ſome days, the prudence of both overcame their inclination for war, and a treaty of peace was concluded, by which Malcolm conſented to pay that homage which his anceſtors, for above a century, had been accuſtomed to pay to the Engliſh crown, firſt for the ſole principality of Cumberland, and afterwards both for that province and the Lothian territories. It was alſo agreed, that Edgar Atheling ſhould be delivered up to the Engliſh monarch, and, on renouncing his right to the crown, ſhould receive from William a penſion adequate to his ſupport [40]. A. D. 1072.

40. Chron. Sax.—Ann. Waverl.—Hen. Hunt.

A. D. 1072. The tranquillity of England continuing undisturbed, the king had an opportunity of engaging in a foreign expedition. Maine, a province situated to the southward of Normandy, had been for some years under the dominion of William, who had acquired it by testamentary donation, and confirmed himself in the possession of it by force of arms. But the inhabitants had never cordially submitted to the Norman government; and the asserted claim of Fulk count of Anjou, who was probably encouraged by the French court, produced a revolt in his favor, and the expulsion of the Normans from the province. William, averse to the idea of losing any part of his territories for want of his personal exertions, passed over into Normandy with an army consisting almost wholly of English; and having augmented this force with some troops levied in that duchy, he marched towards the seat of the rebellion. In his way to Le Mans, the capital of Maine, he reduced several castles with great facility. The terror of his arms, and the fury of his devastations, reclaimed the subjection of the whole province without a battle; and Fulk's pretensions gave way to the superior power of his competitor. This revolt being quelled, and the affairs of England still continuing in a quiet state, the king passed the remainder of this year, and a great part of the next, in his Norman dominions, where he was visited by Edgar Atheling, whom he gratified with a handsome pension, in compliance with the late treaty between him and the king of Scotland [41].

A. D. 1073.

41. Gul. Malmsb. lib. iii.—Chron. Sax. p. 182.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

A rebellion is kindled by ſome of the Norman barons—but is ſoon ſuppreſſed.—Earl Waltheof is beheaded for his concern in it.—The king's eldeſt ſon Robert rebels againſt his father,—whom he unknowingly defeats and wounds in ſingle combat.—This incident produces a reconciliation between them.—William orders a general ſurvey of his kingdom.—The Danes make great preparations for an invaſion of England;—but are prevented by contrary winds and other cauſes.—A war breaks out between the kings of France and England.—Particulars of the death and character of the latter.

THOUGH William had made a wide diſtinction between his treatment of the Normans and the Engliſh, his haughty and domineering temper had occaſionally ſhown itſelf even in his behaviour towards the former. Impatient of the ſmalleſt act of diſobedience, he expected an unreſerved compliance with his will, not only from the Engliſh, whom he had reduced to a ſtate of depreſſion and ſervitude, but alſo from his own countrymen, whom he had ſo liberally rewarded for their important ſervices. Roger earl of Hereford, ſon of William Fitz-Oſbern, and the heir of that nobleman's eſtates in England, began to exhibit ſymptoms of diſcontent; and his diſſatisfaction was increaſed by a refuſal which he met with from the king, when he ſolicited the royal permiſſion for the marriage of his ſiſter with Ralph de Guader, earl of Eaſt-Anglia, though the feudal law did not abſolutely require the ſovereign's conſent on that occaſion, as the lady was not an heireſs. Regardleſs of William's prohibition, Ralph eſpouſed the object of his choice; and the nuptials A. D. 1074.

A. D. 1074. tials were celebrated with great magnificence, amidſt a numerous aſſemblage of perſons of rank. During the entertainment that ſucceeded the matrimonial ceremony, the bridegroom and his new brother-in-law introduced the ſubject of government and politics. They exclaimed in warm terms againſt the tyranny of the king; commiſerated the fate of the unhappy Engliſh, whom he ruled with an iron ſceptre; expreſſed their apprehenſions that he had formed an intention of ſubjecting to the like ſlavery thoſe nobles and officers who had opened his way to glory and conqueſt; and deprecated the idea of ſubmitting with patience to the ignominious yoke of a baſtard. The elevation of ſpirits produced by the liquor, imparted to theſe obſervations a contagious effect: the majority of the gueſts imbibed the ſentiments of the two diſcontented earls; and a reſolution was adopted to deprive William of the ſovereignty of England [1]. Waltheof, whom the king had promoted to the earldom of Northumberland, in the room of Coſpatric, the ſucceſſor of the captive Morcar, was preſent at this banquet; and the Norman malcontents were deſirous of enliſting ſo powerful a nobleman under their banners. They ſolicited his concurrence in the enterpriſe, which they repreſented as a juſt and meritorious attempt, that claimed the exertions of every friend of liberty. Waltheof, unwilling to enter into a plot ſo precipitately formed, and ſo unlikely to ſhake the ſtability of William's throne, refuſed to take any concern in it; but was at length, in an unguarded moment, inveigled into a declaration of his acquieſcence in the propoſed rebellion [2]. To ſtrengthen the probability of a proſperous iſſue, it was reſolved that envoys ſhould be immediately ſent to the king of Denmark, to requeſt his aid againſt William. With the aſſiſtance that might

1. Matth. Paris. Hiſt. Angl. edit. Tig. 1606. p. 8.—Ord. Vital.—Gul. Malmſb. 2. Hoved. p. 261.

be

be received from this quarter, as well as from the Welſh and the diſaffected Engliſh, the conſpirators fondly imagined that their ſucceſs was indubitable. A. D. 1074.

When Waltheof had retired from the aſſembly of conſpirators, and the influence of repoſe had diſſipated the miſts of intoxication, he regretted his promiſe of concurring in the rebellion, and was anxious to atone for his guilt by giving intelligence of the plot to his ſovereign; but his honor, on the other hand, condemning the idea of betraying his aſſociates, his mind was tortured with uncertainty and ſuſpenſe. Confiding in the affection of his wife Judith, he informed her of the whole affair, which ſhe immediately communicated to the king by a meſſenger, highly aggravating the delinquency of Waltheof, whom ſhe wiſhed to ſuperſede by another huſband. Being yet undetermined, the earl requeſted the advice of archbiſhop Lanfranc, who prevailed on him to repair to Normandy, and impart to the king all the particulars of the conſpiracy. William received him with external politeneſs, but ordered him to be detained till further inquiry ſhould be made into the buſineſs [3].

The ſudden journey of Waltheof to Normandy alarmed the conſpiring nobles, who, ſuſpecting his intention, ſummoned their vaſſals to arms without delay. The earl of Hereford advanced with his forces towards the Severn, that he might croſs the country to join Ralph de Guader; but Walter de Lacey, Wulſtan biſhop of Worceſter, and other diſtinguiſhed perſons, levied troops in defence of the king, and prevented Roger from paſſing the river. The earl of Eaſt-Anglia, preparing to join his confederate, was attacked near Cambridge by Odo biſhop of Bayeux, regent of the kingdom, who, at the head of an army

3. Ord. Vital.—Sim. Dunelm.

A. D. 1074. compoſed both of Engliſh and Normans, defeated the rebel hoſt. In this engagement, many of the inſurgents were taken priſoners, all of whom were puniſhed with the amputation of their right foot. Guader himſelf eſcaped to Norwich, whence he retired beyond ſea, leaving his wife and a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle [4].

The return of William completed the ſuppreſſion of the revolt. The earl of Hereford, deſpairing of ſucceſs, ſubmitted to the mercy of the king, to whom he was related. The other revolters followed his example, except thoſe who garriſoned the caſtle of Norwich, who made a reſolute defence againſt the royaliſts, till a ſcarcity of proviſions induced them to propoſe terms of capitulation, which William thought proper to accept. Canute, ſon of the king of Denmark, arrived ſoon after with a fleet of near 200 ſail; but, finding that the revolt had been effectually quelled by the activity of William's adherents, he quitted the Engliſh coaſts without ſtriking a blow [5].

The rigors of puniſhment followed the extinction of the rebellion. The king, holding a judicial court at Weſtminſter, commanded his judges to take cogniſance of the offence of the conſpirators. Some were condemned to exile; ſome were hanged; and others were mutilated in various ways. Of the chiefs, the earl of Hereford was puniſhed with confiſcation and impriſonment; while the abſent earl of Eaſt-Anglia was ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment, as well as to a forfeiture of his Engliſh eſtates. Waltheof fell a victim to the malignity of his Norman wife, to the avidity of the courtiers for his ample poſſeſſions, and to the ſyſtematic jealouſy of the king, who, though he had

4. Hoved. p. 261.—Matth. Par. p. 8.—Ord. Vital.

5. Chron. Sax. p. 183.—Annal. Waverleinſ. edit. Gale, p. 131.

hitherto

hitherto affected an eſteem for the merit and qualifications of this nobleman, ſeemed to rejoice at the opportunity of cruſhing him for his connexion with the conſpirators, though he had made the earlieſt and moſt ſatisfactory atonement for the temporary violation of his allegiance. He was accuſed on the information of the treacherous Judith; and, after various conſultations among the judges, he was condemned to death. He remained ſome months in confinement at Wincheſter before this ſentence was put in execution; and the interval was employed by him in devout meditation. The influence of Lanfranc, for whom the king had a ſincere regard, was exerted in favor of this illuſtrious delinquent; but the primate's perſuaſions could not prevail over the remonſtrances of Judith, and the importunities of Ivo Taillebois and other rapacious Normans, who aſpired to a participation of the ſpoils of Waltheof. He was beheaded in the neighbourhood of Wincheſter, after every precaution had been taken to prevent a reſcue, which his great popularity gave his enemies cauſe to apprehend. The Engliſh univerſally lamented the fate of this unfortunate nobleman, whoſe heroic courage had excited their admiration, while his liberality of diſpoſition had engaged their affection. The monks repreſented him as a ſaint and a martyr, and aſcribed to his remains a miraculous power [6].

A. D. 1074.

A. D. 1075.

Ralph de Guader having retired into Bretagne, where he poſſeſſed a great eſtate, William, not thinking it prudent to leave ſo formidable a rebel unſubdued, croſſed the channel, and beſieged the earl in the citadel of Dol. Though he ſwore that he would not quit the walls till he ſhould have ſucceeded in his attempt, he found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of raiſing the

6. Ingulph. p. 513. — Ord. Vital. p. 536, 537. — Gul. Malmſb. lib. iii.

A. D. 1075. siege with remarkable precipitation, in consequence of the approach of Philip king of France, and Hoël count of Bretagne, at the head of a numerous army of their respective subjects. Having lost a number of men, both during the siege and in his retreat, as well as the greater part of his baggage, he condescended to treat of an accommodation with Philip and Hoël; and a peace was soon formed, in which the fugitive earl was included[7]. At the same time, William gave his second daughter, Constance, in marriage to Alain Fergant, the heir-apparent of the count of Bretagne.

While the king was congratulating himself on the return of tranquillity, his peace of mind was invaded by domestic animosities and filial ambition. Before his hostile expedition to England, he had promised, in presence of the French king, that, when he should have securely fixed himself in the possession of that country, he would resign his continental dominions to his eldest son Robert[8]; but, whenever that prince had reminded him of his promise, he had always found some pretext for evading the performance of it. Wearied with the importunities of his son, he at length peremptorily declared that he would not resign any part of his territories during his life; or (to use his own expressions) that he would not divest himself of his clothes before the time of his going to bed. The resentment of Robert was kindled by this breach of faith; and being frank and open in his disposition, he took every opportunity of manifesting his discontent; while the king of France, jealous of William's power, fomented the displeasure of his impatient son. While Robert's mind was thus inflamed, an incident happened at L'Aigle in Normandy, which roused him to action.

A. D. 1076.

A. D. 1077.

7. Ord. Vital. p. 544.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vi.
8. Hoved. p. 262.—Matth. Par. p. 9.

William

William and Henry, his two brothers, to whom, as he imagined, the king had ſhown a great partiality, threw ſome water, in the jollity of ſport, upon Robert, as he was walking on a terrace which their apartment commanded. One of his companions repreſenting this puerile frolic as a groſs affront, the prince, who was naturally choleric, drew his ſword, and ran up ſtairs with an intention of chaſtiſing his brothers for their inſolence. The tumult occaſioned by this quarrel ſoon reached the ears of the king, who was then in the ſame town. Haſtening to the ſcene of the diſturbance, he calmed, for the preſent, the fury of Robert, and prevented the immediate miſchief which might have reſulted from his paſſion. But ambition and diſcontent ſtill preying on the mind of the prince, he quitted the court in the evening of that day, attended by many of the young nobility of Normandy, who admired in him that warlike and enterpriſing ſpirit which was one of the ingredients of their own characters. Proceeding to Rouen, he endeavoured, by ſurpriſe, to make himſelf maſter of the citadel; but the vigilant governor was too well prepared againſt a ſudden aſſault to afford an opportunity of ſucceſs to the views of Robert. This attempt on the capital of Normandy arouſed the reſentment of it's ſovereign, who gave orders for the inſtant apprehenſion of his rebellious ſon and the partiſans of hisrevolt, ſome of whom were ſeiſed and impriſoned. Robert, and ſuch of his followers as eſcaped the purſuit of William's detachments, found refuge in the caſtles of Hugh de Neuf-Chatel, whence they made occaſional excurſions, to the great injury of the ſurrounding country [9].

A. D. 1077.

Hiſtorians have not informed us of the particulars of the war that now enſued in Normandy; but, from

9. Ord. Vital. p. 545.

A. D. 1077. the hints which they have thrown out, we may conclude that it chiefly conſiſted of ravages, ſieges, and ſkirmiſhes, too unimportant to merit recital. Though Robert numbered among his adherents moſt of the youthful nobles of Anjou and Maine, excluſive of his own countrymen, and derived pecuniary aid even from his own mother, and military aſſiſtance from the king of France, he was unable to prevail over the veteran troops of William, reinforced by a conſiderable army of his Engliſh ſubjects, who at length compelled the prince to retire from his father's territories. By the favor of king Philip, he and his followers were admitted into the ſtrong fortreſs of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoiſis. From this poſt they infeſted the adjacent parts of Normandy with ſuch devaſtations, that William, eager to reſtore peace to his haraſſed dominions, marched to Gerberoy in the midſt of winter, for the reduction of this neſt of rebels and depredators. During the ſiege, both parties behaved with great courage, and various aſſaults, repulſes, and ſallies, took place. Robert, in one of the encounters which attended this ſiege, obſerved a knight combating with diſtinguiſhed bravery; and regarding him as an object worthy of his perſonal proweſs, he rode towards him, and attacked him in the true ſpirit of chivalry. After a ſhort but gallant conflict, the prince gave his antagoniſt a wound in the arm, and diſmounted him. The wounded cavalier crying out for aſſiſtance as he fell, Robert recogniſed the voice of his father [10], and was inſtantly ſeiſed with horror at the thoughts of the parricide which he had almoſt committed, with remorſe for his diſobedience and rebellion, and with a ſtrong deſire of atoning for his miſconduct by his future fidelity to his parent and ſovereign. He ſprang from his horſe, raiſed

A. D. 1078.

A. D. 1079.

10. Flor. Vigorn.—Chron. Walt. Hemingf.

the

the king from the ground with every mark of filial submiſſion, and earneſtly entreated the pardon of his crimes. The diſgrace of defeat, and the pain of the wound, accompanied with reflexions on the ingratitude teſtified by Robert in embittering with rebellious hoſtilities the declining age of his own father, rendered William ſo obdurate on this occaſion, that, inſtead of granting to his now repentant ſon the forgiveneſs which he implored, he curſed him with great acrimony[11]. Returning to his camp on Robert's horſe, for his own had been wounded in the combat, he thought it unneceſſary to continue the ſiege of Gerberoy, as his ſon appeared to have relinquiſhed all intentions of further reſiſtance. By the mediation of queen Matilda, and ſome of the Norman nobles, the king was prevailed on to receive Robert and his principal adherents into favor; and, in the courſe of this year, the two princes came over to England in company[12]. A. D. 1079.

In the following year, a commotion broke out in the North of England, occaſioned by the inſolence, cruelty, and extortion, of the miniſters and ſervants of Walcher biſhop of Durham, a native of Lorrain, who had A. D. 1080.

11. Annal. Waverl. p. 132.—Matth. Par. p. 9.

12. Chron. Hemingf. lib. i. cap. 8.—Ord. Vital. p. 572.—Sir William Temple, in his elegant but inaccurate narrative of the reign of the Conqueror, repreſents him as committing the government of Normandy to Robert, after the *rencontre* at Gerberoy; a circumſtance which ſeems inconſiſtent with the uſual caution and policy of that prince, who, if he had been more cordially reconciled to Robert than he ever appears to have been, would hardly be diſpoſed to intruſt him with the adminiſtration of a province, of which he was impatient to be the ſovereign, and which, as regent, he would have a much better opportunity of reducing under his own power. Sir William's aſſertion is alſo invalidated by the accounts of the early hiſtorians, who inform us that William, in his firſt voyage to England after his combat with Robert, brought over that prince with him, unwilling doubtleſs to leave in Normandy a popular and enterpriſing youth, whoſe claim was ſo plauſible, and whoſe preſence was ſo dangerous.

A. D. 1080. purchaſed of the king the earldom of Northumberland. The minds of the northern inhabitants being exaſperated by the oppreſſions under which they groaned, a flagrant act of barbarity impelled them to take vengeance on their tyrants. Leofwin, one of the biſhop's chaplains, and Giſlebert, his deputy in the adminiſtration of Northumberland, conceiving a jealouſy of the influence which Liulf, an Engliſh nobleman, maintained over Walcher, removed this object of their envy by aſſaſſinating him with his whole family. The biſhop himſelf appears to have had no concern in this infamous deed; but, as he did not attempt to bring the perpetrators of it to juſtice, the public in general conſidered him as guilty. The clamors of Liulf's relations, ſupported by the undiſguiſed complaints of the Northumbrians, induced Walcher to fix a day for holding a county court, in which compenſation ſhould be made for the crime in queſtion. Apprehenſive of the effects of popular fury, he took his ſtation, on the appointed day, in a church at Gateſhead on the ſouthern banks of the Tyne. From this place of refuge he repeatedly ſent out meſſengers to treat with the people, who had come armed to the meeting; but all his propoſitions being ineffectual for allaying the reſentment of the Northumbrians, he conſented to deliver Giſlebert into their hands. This officer, though attended out of the church by ſome of the biſhop's military tenants, could not eſcape the violence of the mob, who put him and his followers to the ſword. Not appeaſed by this ſacrifice, they demanded the ſurrender of Leofwin, the original projector of Liulf's murder. The obnoxious chaplain refuſing to quit the church, Walcher himſelf approached the door, and endeavoured to pacify the inſurgents; but finding them inflexibly reſolved on further bloodſhed, he covered his head

head with his robe, and committed himſelf to their power, as he had reaſon to think that his life would be in equal danger if he ſhould continue in the church. The revolters, ſurrounding the prelate, pierced him with many wounds; and his death was followed by that of Leofwin, who, after the populace had ſet fire to the church, ruſhed out, and was immediately ſacrificed. The other attendants of the biſhop ſhared the ſame fate, to the number of near one hundred [13]. A. D. 1080.

The Northumbrian rebels then marched to Durham, and aſſaulted the caſtle which the king had erected in that city on his return from his Scottiſh expedition. The garriſon making a reſolute defence, the aſſailants met with ſeveral repulſes, which induced them to raiſe the ſiege. The biſhop of Bayeux, chief juſticiary of the realm, being ſent with an army by William for the ſuppreſſion of this tumultuary inſurrection, the leaders retired into exile; and Odo had no taſk to execute but that of puniſhing all whom he ſuſpected of having abetted the ſedition. After beheading ſome, mutilating others, and extorting money from the innocent as well as guilty, he ravaged the counties of Northumberland and Durham with great ſeverity; a meaſure which was not merely intended for the puniſhment of the revolters, but for the diminution of the means of ſubſiſtence which the Danes might otherwiſe have on landing in theſe parts; for the king had reaſon to apprehend, that Canute, who now filled the throne of Denmark, meditated an invaſion of England.

Odo's expedition into the North was followed by the march of another army, under the command of the king's ſon Robert, who received orders to chaſtiſe

13. Hoved. p. 262, 263.—Gul. Malmſb.—Matth. Par.

the

A. D. 1080. the Scots for their occaſional irruptions into the Engliſh territories. Having advanced into Scotland without ſeeing an enemy, the prince retaliated the devaſtations of Malcolm, and returning to the Tyne, erected a caſtle at Monk-ceſter, which receiving the appellation of New-caſtle, gave riſe to the preſent town of that name. As the Welſh had imitated the example of the Scots, by making caſual depredations on the

A. D. 1081. frontiers, William advanced in perſon into their country, and compelled their princes to pay him homage, reſtore the priſoners taken in their incurſions, and ſwear to the obſervance of peace[14].

The calm which now pervaded the dominions of William, gave him an opportunity of executing a work of great importance. He was deſirous of being perfectly acquainted with the value of all the lands of his kingdom, that he might accurately know to what extent he might carry the privilege of taxation, and what proportion of an impoſt each of his ſubjects ought to pay. With this view he commiſſioned ſome of his nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal, to make a progreſs into the different counties, and aſcertain, by the verdict of juries, the poſſeſſors of each town, diſtrict, or portion of land, as well in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, as in the preſent reign; the dimenſions of the land in each manor, whether paſture, meadow, wood, or arable land; the annual value of it in the two reigns; the amount of the taxes with which it was burthened; the quantity of mills and fiſheries; and, in ſome of the counties, the number of freemen, ſocmen, villains, bordars, and even of cattle and other domeſtic animals. This ſurvey occupied the commiſſioners almoſt ſix years; and the re-

14. Matth. Par. p. 10.—Annal. Waverl. p. 132.

giſter in which it was inſerted is ſtill extant among the public archives of the realm [15]. A. D. 1081.

During the progreſs of this great work, the king's brother-in-law Odo meditated a ſcheme which would have deprived the kingdom of a great maſs of treaſure, as well as of the ſervice of many conſiderable ſubjects. This prelate, by the eſtates which William had given him, by his permanent employment of chief juſticiary, and his occaſional office of regent, had been enabled to accumulate an exorbitant ſhare of wealth, part of which was acquired by the moſt diſhonorable means. His opulence elevating his views, he aſpired to the rank of ſupreme pontiff; and, having purchaſed a palace at Rome, prepared for a journey to that city, that he might be ready to ſecond, with his perſonal applications, the efforts which his agents had been for ſome time making, both in the way of preſents and promiſes, towards ſecuring his election on the firſt vacancy. Hugh earl of Cheſter, and other Norman barons, had promiſed to accompany him into Italy, where they expected ample eſtabliſhments in the event of Odo's ſucceſs. The king accidentally gaining intelligence of theſe deſigns, reſolved to ſtifle them in the bud. He repaired to the iſle of Wight, where Odo A. D. 1082. and his companions were preparing for embarkation. In the preſence of ſeveral of his nobles, he accuſed this ambitious eccleſiaſtic of various acts of oppreſſion,

15. This record received the name of *Domeſday-Book*, not from it's being depoſited in a church, whence ſome think it was called *Liber Domûs Dei*; but becauſe every perſon was to receive his *Doom* or judgment according to it, in caſe of any diſpute concerning the tenure, value, &c. of his lands. For a ſpecimen of the character and language of Domeſday-Book, the reader is referred to the appendix of this volume. A regiſter of a ſimilar kind had been framed in the reign of Alfred; which however is not now in exiſtence. This was denominated the Book of Wincheſter, having been long preſerved in the cathedral of that city.

in-

A. D. 1082. injuſtice, and peculation, as well as of a treaſonable intention of defrauding the nation of many of her defenders. For theſe crimes he commanded his officers to apprehend Odo; but, as they teſtified an unwillingneſs to offer violence to the perſon of a prelate, whom the prevailing principles of the times inclined them to conſider as exempt from civil juriſdiction, William arreſted him with his own hands, declaring, (in anſwer to the remonſtrances of Odo, who affirmed that he was ſolely amenable to the judgment of the pope,) that he ſeiſed him as earl of Kent, not as biſhop of Bayeux. He was immediately ſent priſoner to Rouen; and the confiſcation of his valuable eſtates furniſhed ſome gratification to the rapacity of the king [16].

A. D. 1083. William's repoſe was now interrupted by the great preparations which Canute the Dane was making for the aſſertion of his claim to the Engliſh crown. To provide for the effectual defence of the kingdom againſt an invaſion threatened by a prince who, in addition to his own power, was to be aided with a ſtrong fleet and army by his father-in-law, Robert le Friſon, count of Flanders, the king levied a tax of ſix ſhillings on every hide of land throughout his Engliſh dominions; an exorbitant impoſt which excited the murmurs of the public. The Daniſh fleet being ready for ſailing by the next ſpring, William raiſed a numerous army of foreign adventurers, whom he diſperſed in bodies through the maritime parts of England, compelling his officers, barons, prelates, and abbots, to furniſh them with proviſions. At length, finding that the Daniſh monarch, haraſſed by unfavorable winds, as well as by the diſſenſions of his nobility, ſome of whom had probably been corrupted with Engliſh money, had deſiſted from the execution of his enterpriſe,

A. D. 1084.

A. D. 1085.

16. Ord. Vital. p. 646.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iii.—Matth. Par. p. 10.

he

he dismissed a part of his mercenary forces on the approach of winter, and sent away the rest in the following spring [17]. A. D. 1085.

The turbulent spirit of the continental barons now required William's presence in his native territories, which had become the seat of a petty war of skirmish and depredation. Having summoned all his prelates and nobles, and their principal knights or vassals, to Old Sarum, to renew their homage and oaths of allegiance, on the completion of his survey of the kingdom, he ventured to levy great contributions on them; and then set sail for Normandy, in company with Edgar Atheling, whom he still regarded with a suspicious eye, on account of his popularity among the English. This prince, desirous of a change of scene, and averse to a continuance at the court of his jealous protector, requested the king's permission for undertaking an expedition to Palestine, where, though the crusades had not been formally commenced, occasional bands of warriors made campaigns against the Turks, who, about the time of William's conquest of England, had wrested Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens or Arabs, and subjected the Christian pilgrims to such insults, cruelties, and depredations, as rendered their peregrinations highly dangerous. The king, pleased with the intention of Edgar, granted him an unlimited leave of absence, and presented him with a considerable sum for his equipment; and the prince immediately entered upon his journey, with a train of 200 knights. A. D. 1086.

The king of France had never been cordially disposed towards William from the time of the conquest. The great accession of power which the latter derived from this event, had inspired Philip with a jealousy which

17. Hoved. p. 263.—Ann. Waverl. p. 133.

prompted

A. D. 1086. prompted him to encourage the caſual diſcontents of William's ſubjects, and take every clandeſtine ſtep that might embroil the government of his rival. The Conqueror was ſenſible of the envy and malevolence of Philip, and ſeemed to wiſh for an opportunity of inflicting on that prince the weight of his reſentment. Some of the French barons having made repeated incurſions upon the Norman frontiers, William, who had appeaſed the inteſtine diſturbances produced by the nobles of Normandy and Maine, now reſolved to

A. D. 1087. enter into a war with France. His animoſity againſt Philip was augmented by ſome jocular reflexions which that monarch had uttered on the ſubject of his corpulency and indiſpoſition. William having been confined to his apartment, Philip obſerved, that the king of England took a long time to recover from his *accouchement*; but that he hoped he ſhould ſoon ſee him at his churching. This raillery was received by William with keen ſenſibility; and he ſwore, by the reſurrection and ſplendor of God, that, immediately after his riſing, he would offer up a hundred thouſand lights in France by way of thankſgiving for his ſafe delivery; alluding to the practice which then prevailed, of preſenting tapers at the altar on the churching of women [18].

To

18. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iii.—Ord. Vital.—Matth. Weſtm.—In the Chronicle of Normandy, a quarrel which broke out at cheſs between Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of Philip, and Henry, the youngeſt ſon of the Conqueror, is aſſigned as the immediate cauſe of the rupture between their reſpective fathers. Though the French prince was the aggreſſor, Philip was ſo enraged at a wound which Henry had given Lewis with the cheſs-board, that he is ſaid to have commenced hoſtilities againſt William from the impulſe of that trivial offence. Whatever was the proximate cauſe, the remote one may be referred to the inveterate jealouſy of Philip, and the reſentment of William for the encouragement which that prince had long given to his enemies

To give a color of juſtice to the war which he meditated, he demanded of Philip the reſtitution of the Vexin François, which had been ceded to Robert II. duke of Normandy, but had been retaken by the French during the minority of his ſon William. This demand being rejected, the Engliſh ſovereign entered the Iſle of France with a numerous hoſt, and ſpread around him the horrors of ſlaughter, fire, and devaſtation. Reaching the town of Mante in his deſtructive progreſs, he took it by ſtorm on the ſecond day of the ſiege, and ordered it to be expoſed to general conflagration. He enjoyed the havock which he had occaſioned, and triumphantly rode about the town while it was involved in flames. The proximity of the fire, and the natural warmth of the ſeaſon, ſo diſordered his perſon, that he found himſelf obliged to retreat to a greater diſtance; but his horſe happening to tread amidſt ſome hot aſhes, ſtarted aſide with ſuch ſuddenneſs and violence, that the rider, in endeavouring to preſerve his ſeat, bruiſed his protuberant ſtomach againſt the pommel of the ſaddle [19]. He was immediately conveyed to Rouen, where he felt an increaſe of illneſs, ariſing from the concurrent attacks of a rupture and a fever. Being informed by his phyſicians, that his recovery could not be expected, he began to think of making his peace with Heaven, and of arranging both his ſpiritual and temporal concerns. He affected remorſe for the various acts of inhumanity and oppreſſion which he had committed, and expreſſed his hope that his preſent contrition would be accepted as an atonement. He gave orders for the liberation of the earl of Hereford, the earls Morcar, Siward-Bearne, and

A. D. 1087.

enemies on the continent. This was the firſt war that ever aroſe between the kings of France and England, though it chiefly affected the latter in his capacity of duke of Normandy.

19. Wace Hiſt. de Normandie.—Gul. Malmſb.—Matth. Paris.

Ul-

A. D. 1087. Ulnoth [20], as well as of all other perſons confined either in England or Normandy. With regard to the biſhop of Bayeux, he was ſtrongly inclined to except him from the number of thoſe whom he releaſed, as he was confident that the impriſonment of ſo turbulent and unprincipled a character was of real ſervice to the community, by depriving him of the power of doing miſchief: but the earneſt entreaties of Robert earl of Mortagne, the brother of Odo, prevailed over the king's repugnance, and procured liberty for that prelate. He commanded the diſtribution of large ſums among the poor, as well as among the churches and monaſteries, appropriating a ſpecific ſum for rebuilding thoſe which he had lately deſtroyed at Mante. He bequeathed his crown and *regalia* to the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, which he himſelf had founded. He deviſed the duchy of Normandy and county of Maine to his ſon Robert, and ſignified his wiſh that William ſhould ſucceed him on the throne of England, though he would not pretend to make a teſtamentary diſpoſition of a kingdom which he himſelf had acquired by a victory over a perjured uſurper, not by hereditary ſucceſſion [21]. To Henry he gave the property which had been left by queen Matilda, who had died ſome years before. His worldly affairs being thus adjuſted, he reſumed the exerciſe of devotion, and expired at the
Sept. 9. monaſtery of St. Gervais, near Rouen, at the age of

20. Ulnoth was a ſon of the celebrated earl Godwin, who having been given as an hoſtage by his father on his reconciliation with Edward the Confeſſor, had been detained priſoner in Normandy from that time (1051) to the year 1087; a circumſtance which reflects little honor on William's generoſity.

21. Fragm. de Gul. Conquæſtore, apud Camdeni Angl. Norman. &c.—This declaration made by William on his death-bed, may be conſidered as a refutation of his pretended claim to the crown of England, founded on the alleged bequeſt of the Confeſſor.

ſixty-four[22], when he had nearly completed the twenty-firſt year of his reign. He was interred in the church of that abbey, which he had built at Caen, the funeral charges being defrayed by Herlouin de Conteville, who had eſpouſed William's mother Arlotta before the death of her ducal lover. A ſingular occurrence happened when his corpſe was on the point of being committed to the earth. A Norman named Fitz-Arthur, ſtood forward, and boldly proteſted againſt the interment of the body on that ſpot, affirming that the ground on which the church was built had belonged to his father, from whom it had been wreſted by the Conqueror; an act of tyranny for which he ſummoned the defunct to anſwer before the tribunal of Omnipotence. The prelates who conducted the ceremony of the funeral, being convinced, on inquiry, of the truth of Fitz-Arthur's allegations, paid him a ſmall ſum for the immediate liberty of burial, and engaged to make him a future compenſation for the remainder of his claim, which prince Henry afterwards diſcharged[23]. A. D. 1087. Sept. 9.

Though a reflecting reader may eaſily deduce the principal lineaments of a prince's portrait from the tranſactions recorded of his life and reign, a conſciouſneſs of the ſatisfaction derived from accurate delineations of perſonal deportment, moral habit, and political principle, may be aſſigned as an adequate apology for the delivery of our ſentiments reſpecting the character and demeanor of the ſovereigns who paſs in review before us. As an appendage to hiſtorical record, a character has the ſame effect with the peroration which cloſes an harangue.

22. Wace Hiſt. de Normandie.—Fragm. de Gul. Conq.

23. Gul. Malmſb.—Wace Hiſt.

A. D. 1087. William the Conqueror was, in his perſon, above the middle ſize, of fair proportion, and extraordinary robuſtneſs and vigor of conſtitution. His countenance was ſtern, and his preſence majeſtic. In his deportment, he was haughty and imperious; his temper was naturally rigid and auſtere; and his manners were tinctured with a faſtidious reſerve. His underſtanding was ſtrong, and had been improved by education and experience: while, to a clearneſs of perception, he added a ſolidity of judgment. He was of a bold and preſumptuous ſpirit, ſuperior to all apprehenſions of danger. He was forcibly inſpired with the love of fame; and a fondneſs for ſhow and oſtentation marked his public appearance. From his earlieſt youth, he was ambitious and enterpriſing; but his aſpiring views were proſecuted with ſuch prudence, that they generally commanded ſucceſs.

As a warrior, he ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre. Bred to arms from his infancy, he had acquired a conſummate knowledge of the prevailing ſyſtem of military affairs, long before the period of his Engliſh expedition. While his ſagacity enabled him to diſcern the advantages which the enemy afforded him, his circumſpection was ſo vigilant as to prevent others from gaining any advantage over him. His courage was never appalled by the dangers of the field; for, in the moſt deſperate emergencies, he maintained a ſurpriſing coolneſs and preſence of mind. He preſerved among his troops an exactneſs of diſcipline and ſubordination, which, added to the native intrepidity of his countrymen, paved their way to victory and triumph.

His political wiſdom has been extolled with extravagant praiſe; and, indeed, we have ſufficient reaſon to conclude, that he was an able governor and a profound

found ſtateſman. His meaſures were, for the moſt part, planned with ability, and executed with judgment; but a degree of craft was ſometimes viſible, which derogated from the dignity of his adminiſtration, and expoſed him to the occaſional contempt of the diſcerning. He was ſecret in his deſigns, ſteady in his reſolutions, and obſtinately bent on the completion of any ſcheme upon which he had deliberately determined, the difficulties which appeared in his way ſerving only to increaſe his ardor, and ſtimulate his perſeverance. By the ſtrictneſs of his government, he eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom ſo excellent a *police*[24], that the reign of Alfred the Great ſeemed to be revived; though, in other reſpects, the parallel between the two reigns did not hold; for Alfred's ſway was that of a mild and beneficent prince, who acted as the father of his people, while the adminiſtration of William was that of a jealous tyrant, who treated his ſubjects as born to crouch at his feet. A. D. 1087.

From ſome of the acts of this prince's reign, an inference might be drawn in favor of his clemency and magnanimity, did not the general tenor of his conduct prove ſuch inſtances to have been rather the offſpring of policy, than the dictates of a great and generous mind. Though only one Engliſh nobleman was executed during his reign, (which his panegyriſts repreſent as a ſignal proof of his lenity and mercy), great numbers of the inferior people became the miſerable objects of his cruelty; and he did not confine his inhumanity to thoſe who rebelled againſt him, but occaſionally extended it to the innocent as well as the guilty; as appears from the horrible devaſtations committed by him in the Northumbrian province, and from the deſtruction of towns and villages for the ſpace of thirty miles

24. Ann. Waverl. p. 134.—Chron. Sax.—Matth. Par.

A. D. 1087. in the county of Hants, for the mere purpoſe of encouraging the reſort of wild beaſts in lieu of the human beings whom he thus violently expelled from their lands and habitations, and conſigned to all the miſeries of ſudden poverty and ruin[25]. He depreſſed his Engliſh ſubjects with ſuch undeviating conſiſtency, that, before the termination of his reign, there was ſcarcely one native who enjoyed an earldom, a barony, a biſhopric, or an abbacy, or, indeed, any preferment civil or eccleſiaſtical[26]. It was deemed a favor for an Engliſhman to hold a part of his former lands as the humble feudatory of a Norman baron who had been inveſted with his ſpoils. The king's partiality to his countrymen was conſtantly manifeſted. They were, with very few exceptions, the ſole objects of his regard and eſteem: he encouraged their unjuſtifiable arrogance towards the Engliſh, and rarely afforded redreſs from their encroachments on private property: he connived at the extortions and the biaſſed deciſions of his judges, all of whom were Normans or other foreigners; and, inſtead of promoting concord between his ancient and his more recent ſubjects, which

25. Hen. Huntingd. lib. vi.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iii.—Matth. Par. p. 11.—M. de Voltaire obſerves, that "this action is too ridiculous to be probable, as a new plantation would require at leaſt twenty years to render it a foreſt fit for hunting, and William is ſaid to have planted this foreſt in 1080, when he was near ſixty years of age." But the ingenious author ought to have conſidered, that, though the Conqueror might not expect to live till the trees of his own planting ſhould be full-grown, his purpoſe was in ſome meaſure anſwered by the depopulation of this tract, which would invite the wild animals into it's vicinity, as part of it, in all probability, was already woodland. He might alſo have reflected, that William, in this tyrannous act, did not ſolely aim at his own gratification, but had an eye to his poſterity, by increaſing their accommodations for a ſport in which the Normans delighted.

26. Ingulph. p. 512.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. ii. et iii.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vi.

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he affected to recommend in the beginning of his reign, he made ſuch diſtinctions between them as tended to widen the breach ariſing from national animoſity, and retard the complete incorporation of the victors and the vanquiſhed. But, while he thus favored the Normans in preference to the Engliſh, his deſpotic temper would not permit the former to eſcape his tyranny. The arbitrary foreſt-laws which he enacted were equally oppreſſive to both, as the ſevere penalties conſequent on the violation of them were promiſcuouſly levied on his ſubjects of each denomination [27]. His extortions were heavily felt by all his people, whom he took every occaſion of fleecing without mercy. His avarice was ſo extreme, that he deſcended to the meaneſt arts for it's gratification [28]. Notwithſtanding the great value of the ancient crown-lands, the very conſiderable additions which he made to them out of the confiſcated eſtates, and the profits ariſing from wardſhip, reliefs, ſcutages, and other feudal payments, William was not ſatisfied with theſe ample revenues; but labored to increaſe them by exorbitant taxation and rapacious fraud [29]. His fondneſs for wealth, however A. D. 1087.

27. By the foreſt-laws of this prince, it was ordained that ſuch as killed a deer, a hare, or a wild boar, belonging to the royal foreſts, ſhould be deprived of their ſight; and heavy fines were exacted for trifling treſpaſſes committed within theſe tracts of country.

28. Chron. Sax.—Gul. Malmſb.—Ann. Waverl.

29. Ordericus Vitalis informs us, that the Conqueror's fixed income, excluſive of mulcts, forfeitures, and caſual profits, amounted to 1061 *l. per diem*, which nearly approached to 390,000*l. per annum*; a revenue equal in efficacy to near ten millions ſterling at the preſent day. If we conſider, that, by the feudal inſtitutions, the maintenance of the king's army was not defrayed out of his revenues, and that it was his cuſtom, on extraordinary occaſions, to levy extraordinary taxes, we may find reaſon to queſtion the authenticity of the eſtimate given by Vitalis, even if we reduce to about five millions

A. D. 1087. however, did not prevent him from indulging his taſte for magnificence, and gratifying his vanity with the luſtre of a ſplendid court, particularly at the three great feſtivals of the year, at which ſolemnities he was regularly attended by all the barons of his realm.

He paid great regard to the exteriors of religion, though his heart ſeems to have been little influenced by its genuine principles. He treated the eccleſiaſtics with much outward reſpect; but diſdained that ſubſerviency which ſome of his predeceſſors on the Engliſh throne had ſhown to them. Whenever they preſumed to oppoſe his will, they became the certain objects of his reſentment. He would not ſuffer the primate to convoke a ſynod without his conſent, nor any canons to be promulgated unleſs they had been ſanctioned with his previous approbation. Though he made uſe of the papal authority in the depoſition of the obnoxious Engliſh prelates, and even continued the grant of St. Peter's pence, he rejected with indignation the extravagant demands of pope Gregory VII. who not only required him to do homage to the holy ſee for the crown of England, but advanced other claims favorable to the views of papal ſupremacy. He prohibited his ſubjects from acknowledging any pope whom he did not approve, as well as from paying attention to any bulls or letters from Rome which had not received his aſſent [30].

the preſent value of the annual income alluded to. Another argument againſt the accuracy of Vitalis may be drawn, as Mr. Hume has obſerved, from the comparative ſmallneſs of the ſum mentioned by the beſt authorities to have been found in William's treaſury at his death, which, notwithſtanding his acknowledged avarice, did not exceed 60,000*l.* If his revenue had been equal to the ſpecified amount, he would undoubtedly have left more than the income of two months, even on the ſuppoſition that his expences were conſiderably greater than they appear to have been.

30. Eadm. Hiſt. p. 6, edit. Seld.

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With reſpect to his private character and habits of life, he was remarkable for his temperance, and the moderation of his ſenſual appetites. Superior to the enticements of luxury, and the faſcinations of pleaſure, he preſerved his mind unſhackled by diſſipation or exceſs, and ſuſtained the dignity of a man and a king. As a huſband, he was chaſte and affectionate: as a father, he was kind to his ſubmiſſive children, but moroſe and ſevere when any ſymptoms appeared of a refractory ſpirit. In the other relations of ſocial life, he was ſtern and haughty, rather than mild and conciliatory. A. D. 1087.

The extant laws of this monarch conſiſt of ſuch as he ſelected from the Anglo-Saxon code, and alſo of new ſtatutes, principally extracted from the ſyſtem which prevailed in Normandy. His predilection for every cuſtom or inſtitute of Norman origin, induced him to make ſeveral innovations in the juriſprudence of England; and the eſtabliſhment of his countrymen in the great offices of ſtate, as well as in every conſiderable dignity or employment throughout the realm, naturally occaſioned the introduction of many Norman uſages, without the formality of enactment. William not only aimed at the ſubſtitution of the laws of his native country in lieu of the Engliſh inſtitutions, but even attempted to aboliſh the uſe of the Saxon tongue; though this was a taſk which he found too difficult to be accompliſhed. The natives were obſtinately bent on the preſervation of their language, amidſt the wreck of their liberties. Though the Norman or French tongue became the dialect of the court of England; though the ſtatutes were penned in that language; though the halls of judicature reſounded only with the Gallic idiom, which was alſo taught in every ſchool throughout the kingdom; the bulk of the

A. D. 1087. people ſtill retained the Saxon tongue, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Conqueror for it's extirpation [31].

31. Beſides the Conqueror's ſons already mentioned, *viz.* Robert, William, and Henry, he had, by Matilda of Flanders, the mother of thoſe princes, another ſon, of the name of Richard, who is ſaid to have been killed by a ſtag in the New Foreſt. His daughters were five in number. Cecilia, the eldeſt, became abbeſs of a nunnery founded by her mother at Caen; Conſtance eſpouſed Alain count of Bretagne; Adela was married to Stephen earl of Blois, to whom ſhe bore a future king of England of the ſame name; Agatha died in her way to Spain, whither ſhe was going as the intended wife of Alphonſo king of Gallicia; and the fifth was Alice, who is ſuppoſed by ſome to have been the ſame with the laſt-mentioned princeſs.

CHAP.

BRITISH
14 NO 63
MUSEUM



Heath sculp.

WILLIAM II.

CHAP. III.

WILLIAM II. ſurnamed RUFUS.

Rufus, by his activity and ſpirit, gains poſſeſſion of the crown.—An unſucceſsful revolt is excited againſt him, in favor of his brother Robert.—He makes a new ſurvey of the kingdom.—He invades the duchy of Normandy;—part of which he ſecures by treaty.—William and Robert beſiege their brother Henry in Mount St. Michael,—who is obliged to wander about the country in poverty and neglect.—Malcolm, king of Scotland, is ſlain by the vaſſals of the earl of Northumberland.—A conſpiracy is formed by this nobleman and others againſt Rufus;—but the king's vigorous meaſures quickly defeat it.—Robert mortgages Normandy to William.—The latter is engaged in hoſtilities with the king of France.—He is accidentally killed in the New Foreſt.—Remarks on his character.

AT the time of the Conqueror's final indiſpoſition, his favorite ſon William (ſurnamed *Rufus* from the redneſs of his hair) was preſent in Normandy, watching over the health of his declining parent, who furniſhed him with a recommendatory epiſtle to Lanfranc archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſiring that prelate to exert his intereſt in ſecuring the Engliſh crown to William. Aware of the utility of diſpatch when royalty was the prize in view, this enterpriſing prince directed his haſty courſe to England, and was waiting for a fair wind at Vitſand, when he received information of his father's deceaſe. On his arrival in this kingdom, he concealed the important intelligence; and repairing to Wincheſter, took poſſeſſion, in the king's name, of A. D. 1087.

A. D. 1087. of the royal treaſure, while ſome faithful friends, who had accompanied him from the continent, found means to ſecure the principal fortreſſes of Kent and Suſſex. The death of the Conqueror was then announced to the Engliſh; and Lanfranc, having prevailed on many of the nobles and prelates to eſpouſe the pretenſions of Rufus, to whom he was attached by the ties of friendſhip, whoſe education he had ſuperintended, and whom he had inveſted with the ſword of knighthood, prepared for the ſpeedy accompliſhment of the late king's wiſhes by the ſanction of coronation. The powerful influence of the primate, ſeconded by the arts of corruption, the means of which were ſupplied by the acquiſition of the royal treaſure, procured ſucceſs to the ambitious aims of William,

Sept. 26. who was crowned at Weſtminſter-abbey by Lanfranc, with the concurrence of an aſſembly of ſpiritual and temporal barons. Immediately after his coronation, he returned to Wincheſter, and diſtributed a part of his father's treaſures, in compliance with that monarch's will, among the indigent inhabitants of every county in England, as well as among all the churches and monaſteries [1]. From the ſame ſource, he beſtowed conſiderable largeſſes on many of the military members of the community, that he might depend on their ſupport of his intereſts againſt the attempts of any competitor.

While the new king was endeavouring to ſecure himſelf on the throne to which he had been elevated, his elder brother Robert took poſſeſſion of Normandy,

1. Hoved. p. 264.—Chron. Sax. p. 192.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iii.—The proportions obſerved in this diſtribution were as follow: to the principal monaſteries and cathedrals, ten marks were given; to others, ſix; to each of the parochial churches, five ſhillings; and, to every county, 100 pounds (nearly equal in value to the preſent ſum of 3000*l.*) were ſent for the benefit of the poor.

amidſt

amidſt the acclamations of the people, by whom he was beloved for the frankneſs and liberality of his diſpoſition, and admired for his courage and martial ſkill. He was adviſed by his friends to take the earlieſt opportunity of aſſerting his claim to the crown of England; but his indolence was ſo great, that, though his ambition warmly aſpired to this pre-eminence, he took no meaſures for the attainment of it till his more politic brother was firmly fixed in the throne. A. D. 1087.

The ſeparation of the dominions of Normandy and England could not be a pleaſing event to ſuch nobles as had eſtates in both thoſe countries. They foreſaw the probability of frequent wars between the ſovereigns of the two ſtates; and, if hoſtilities ſhould take place, they had reaſon to apprehend the loſs of their poſſeſſions either in the duchy or the kingdom, the general difficulty of ſerving two maſters being enhanced by the particular predicament in which Robert and William ſtood with reſpect to each other. The former had been defrauded of his right of primogeniture by the ambition of Rufus, from whom he would doubtleſs endeavour to wreſt the territories which he had unjuſtly obtained; while the latter would perhaps be ſtimulated to avert the danger impending over his kingdom, by carrying an offenſive war into the heart of Normandy, with a view of uniting the ſupremacy of the two regions in his own perſon. Of the two princes, Robert was the more popular among the nobility; and, as they conceived him entitled to the undivided ſucceſſion of the Conqueror, they were ready to take arms in ſupport of his right to the Engliſh crown. The biſhop of Bayeux, now releaſed from his confinement, had been reſtored by Rufus to the earldom of Kent; but his reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit engaged him in a rebellion againſt the prince who had

A. D. 1087. thus favored him. Having acquired a great influence over Robert, under whoſe auſpices he hoped to recover his former authority in England, he fomented the diſcontents of the principal nobles; and a conſpiracy was quickly formed for elevating the duke of Normandy to the throne which his brother had invaded. The chief conductors of the plot, beſides Odo, were, Euſtace earl of Boulogne, Robert earl of Mortagne, the earls of Shrewſbury and Norfolk, and the biſhops of Durham and Coutances. Duke Robert encouraged the conſpirators, and promiſed to ſupport them as ſoon as their meaſures ſhould be ripe for execution [2].

A. D. 1088.

Kent exhibited the firſt ſcene of inſurrection, under the conduct of it's governor Odo, who ravaged the crown-lands in that province, as well as thoſe of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he envied for his power and influence, and hated for the advice which that prelate had given to the Conqueror; for, when Odo was on the point of taking his departure for the papal court, Lanfranc had exhorted William to counteract his views by the ſeiſure of his perſon. While the rebellion was raging in Kent, the biſhop of Coutances marched with an army from Briſtol, reduced Bath and other towns, and ravaged the counties of Somerſet, Gloceſter, and Wilts. Roger de Montgomery, earl of Shrewſbury, ſtrengthened by a body of Welſh, advanced into Worceſterſhire, and inveſted it's capital; but Wulſtan, the biſhop, inſpired the garriſon and citizens with ſuch courage, that the rebels were repulſed with loſs. Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, infeſted the Eaſt-Anglian territories with his devaſtations; and the ſhires of Leiceſter and Northampton were haraſſed by another party of revolters.

2. Ord. Vital. p. 666.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Flor. Vigorn.

At

At the ſame time, William biſhop of Durham, who, A. D. 1088. though high in the confidence of Rufus, had entered into the ſchemes of the conſpirators, took the field with his vaſſals, and endeavoured to rouſe the Northumbrians to arms [3].

Theſe commotions, though they preſented a formidable aſpect, ſerved only to diſplay the king's vigor, intrepidity, and addreſs. As the rebels principally conſiſted of Normans, he found it expedient to cultivate the favor of the Engliſh, to whom he promiſed a diminution of taxes, a revival of the Anglo-Saxon laws, and a full permiſſion to hunt in the royal foreſts. By the plauſibility of his profeſſions, he conciliated their attachment and ſupport; and an army of near 30,000 Engliſh ſoon enliſted under his banners [4]. He prevailed on the earl of Shrewſbury, whoſe intereſt he knew to be very conſiderable, to deſiſt from the proſecution of his rebellious attempts; and, by the arts of perſuaſion, he confirmed ſome of the wavering barons in their allegiance. Marching into Kent with great expedition, he ſummoned the fort of Tunbridge to ſurrender; and having reduced it in two days, he paſſed into Suſſex, and inveſted the caſtle of Pevenſey, in which Odo had taken refuge. This fortreſs, after having ſuſtained a ſiege of ſix weeks, ſubmitted to the king for want of ſubſiſtence; and the biſhop received his nephew's pardon, on condition that he ſhould procure the ſurrender of Rocheſter, where the principal rebels were poſted, and ſhould then quit the kingdom. He was conducted to that city, under an eſcort of royaliſts, who demanded the ſubmiſſion of the garriſon, in compliance with the orders of the king, and the requeſt of the biſhop. A ſally was inſtantly made from

3. Annal. Waverl. p. 136.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vii. cap. 1.
4. Ord. Vital. p. 667.

the

A. D. 1088. the citadel, and the whole party who had attended Odo from Pevenſey were taken priſoners by the rebels. This colluſion enraged William, who, approaching the town, quickly reduced it, and reſolved to uſe all his efforts for taking the caſtle by ſtorm, that he might inflict ſignal vengeance on the revolters. But his anger was appeaſed by the interceſſion of ſuch Norman nobles as ſtill adhered to him, at whoſe entreaty he ſpared the lives of the beſieged, though he confiſcated their property, and ordered them to retire from the realm. He then ſent a body of forces to the northward, who took poſſeſſion of Durham, while the biſhop eſcaped to the continent, whence he was recalled in the ſequel, and reſtored to his epiſcopal ſtation. The other inſurgents were ſoon compelled to ſubmit; and Rufus found his throne more ſecurely eſtabliſhed by theſe attempts for it's ſubverſion [5].

In the mean time, the Norman duke, having mortgaged the Cotentin (a part of the lower Normandy) to his brother Henry, had equipped a ſmall fleet and army, which he ſent over to the aſſiſtance of his partiſans: but William's cruiſers intercepted theſe ſuccours, and gave them a total defeat. The duke's intention was to follow this ſquadron in perſon with a greater armament; but, before his indolence would ſuffer him to embark, the opportunity of action was loſt by the extinction of the revolt [6].

The confiſcated eſtates were partly conferred by the king on thoſe Normans who had preſerved their fidelity to him, and partly appropriated to his own uſe. But, though he thus rewarded the attachment of his countrymen, he retained no gratitude for the exertions of his Engliſh ſubjects, whoſe loyalty had prevented the

5. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Chron. Sax.—Ann. Waverl.

6. Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.—Hoved. p. 264.—Ord. Vital.

loſs

loſs of his crown. He did not long obſerve the promiſes which he had ſo liberally made to them in the hour of danger; and their ſpirit of reſiſtance had been ſo effectually ſubdued by the tyranny of the Conqueror, that there was no reaſon to dread any ill conſequences from their reſentment of his ſucceſſor's perfidy. Being mildly reproved by Lanfranc for his neglect of his engagements, he anſwered with warmth, "Who can "perform all his promiſes?" From this time he treated the primate with leſs reſpect than he had before ſhown to him; though he ſtill concealed his paſſions under the maſk of moderation, and affected a regard for the counſels of his venerable preceptor, who, after having greatly contributed, by his extenſive intereſt and judicious advice, not only to William's acquiſition of royalty, but to the preſervation of his throne when it was violently ſhaken by the ſtorms of rebellion, reſigned his breath, about this time, to the attacks of a fever[7]. A. D. 1088. A. D. 1089.

To the beneficial influence which Lanfranc poſſeſſed over Rufus, the pernicious counſels of Ralph Flambard, a perſon of a very different character, ſucceeded. This miniſter was a Norman by birth, and had been enrolled among the feudal vaſſals of the Conqueror. By his fearleſs and enterpriſing diſpoſition, a great degree of inſinuation and eloquence, and a dexterity in the management of affairs, he had attracted the notice of the preſent king, who at length intruſted him with the direction of his finances. To gratify his ſovereign's avidity, he deviſed the moſt oppreſſive exactions, which rendered him ſo unpopular, that a plan was formed for his aſſaſſination. Being decoyed into a boat on the Thames, he was conveyed towards the mouth of the river, and obliged to embark in a ſhip, where two bravoes, hired by his enemies, waited to deprive him

7. Gul. Malmſb. de Pontif. lib. i.—Eadm. Hiſt. p. 14.

of

A. D. 1089. of his life; but the confuſion produced by a violent tempeſt, gave riſe to emotions of humanity and compaſſion; which, ſeconded by the addreſs and the promiſes of Flambard, induced Gerold, the principal conſpirator, to relinquiſh his deſign, and conduct the miniſter to ſhore. Ralph, rejoiced at his eſcape, haſtened to London; while Gerold, not having ſufficient confidence in the generoſity or forbearance of ſo unprincipled a character, ſought refuge in a voluntary exile [8].

For the repletion of the royal coffers, Flambard ſuggeſted to the king the idea of a new ſurvey of the realm, which was immediately put in execution. The reaſon aſſigned for this meaſure was, that the ſurvey in the late reign had been partially conducted, as the jurors, on whoſe oaths it had been regiſtered, had frequently diminiſhed the quantity and value of the lands [9]. Wherever the new commiſſioners found any extenuation of this kind, William took poſſeſſion of the ſurplus, and augmented the taxes on the remainder. Though ſome acts of oppreſſion were practiſed in this ſurvey, it excited leſs clamor than that which aroſe from the king's conſtant cuſtom of retaining the profits of vacant ſees and abbacies in his own hands, ſometimes for one year, and ſometimes even for four years; for that was the ſpace of time which elapſed before he appointed a ſucceſſor to Lanfranc in the ſee of Canterbury. That exorbitant deſire of wealth, which had influenced the Conqueror to commit ſuch a ſeries of extortions, had never impelled him to ſuch an extremity as that to which his ſon now proceeded; for he

8. Ord. Vital. lib. viii.

9. As Ingulph confeſſes that this partiality was practiſed with reſpect to the lands of his abbey of Croyland, we may preſume that ſome other eſtates were favored in the ſame mode.

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had always taken early opportunities of ſupplying the vacancies of eccleſiaſtical preferments. If Rufus, with the conſent of a national council, had reſumed, for the neceſſary exigencies of government, a part of the opulent endowments of the church, his conduct would not have been reprehenſible; but, on the contrary, he employed in riot and prodigality the ſums which he derived from the income of vacant dignities; and, when he felt an inclination to ſupply them, he generally diſpoſed of them by ſale [10]; a practice which did not tend to fill the church with thoſe pure and diſintereſted characters that were the moſt qualified to reflect credit on the eſtabliſhment. A. D. 1089.

The authority of Rufus being now fixed on ſo ſolid a baſis, as to defy even the clamors of the eccleſiaſtics, he reſolved to ſeek the gratification both of his revenge and ambition by an attempt on the dominions of his elder brother. The remiſſneſs of Robert's government, and his want of political fortitude, had encouraged the barons of his duchy to aſſume ſuch a degree of independence as was unfavorable to the peace of the country; for it was not to be expected, that thoſe turbulent nobles whom even the vigorous adminiſtration of the Conqueror had not always been able to reſtrain within the bounds of tranquillity, would be awed into ſubmiſſion by a ſovereign whoſe lenity and indulgence invited rather than repreſſed diſorder. The animoſities of many of the barons againſt each other, had diffuſed through the duchy the violence of inteſtine hoſtility, and troops of banditti, animated by the proſpect of an eaſy evaſion of juſtice, plundered this lately flouriſhing territory without mercy [11]. A. D. 1090.

10. Ann. Waverl. p. 142.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vii. 11. Ord. Vital. lib. viii.

A. D. 1090. Taking advantage of the diſtracted ſtate of Normandy, William ſent emiſſaries into that country, who, by pecuniary donations, procured the admiſſion of Engliſh garriſons into the caſtles of St. Valery and Aumale (or Albemarle), and other Norman fortreſſes. For the chaſtiſement of theſe intruders, who ravaged the ſurrounding diſtricts, Robert ſolicited the aid of the king of France; and that monarch, appearing in Normandy with an armed force, joined the duke in the ſiege of St. Valery; but the ſagacity of Rufus ſoon cooled the ardor of Philip, by the offer of a conſiderable ſum, which tempted the French prince to quit the ſiege, and return to his own dominions. Robert, thus deſerted by his ally, found himſelf incapable of recovering the caſtles which Rufus had ſo inſidiouſly acquired. He could not depend on the aſſiſtance of his brother Henry, as he had not only required that prince to reſtore the mortgaged Cotentin without redemption, but had thrown him into priſon on ſuſpicion of his favoring the deſigns of William on the dukedom. The prince, ſoon after he had recovered his liberty, formed a ſtrong party in the Cotentin for his own ſecurity; but, on being informed by Robert of the danger to which his capital was expoſed from the treachery of the Engliſh monarch, who had corrupted the allegiance of many of the citizens, he haſtened to the duke's ſuccour; and a Norman reinforcement entered the city at a time when a body of Engliſh had been admitted into it through the oppoſite gate. Robert made a ſally from the citadel at this critical conjuncture; and being joined by the newly-arrived corps, he ſpeedily routed the Engliſh. Conan, one of the principal citizens, who had been won by the gold of William, was puniſhed for his

treaſon by being thrown from the battlements of a lofty tower; and prince Henry is ſaid to have inflicted this act of ſeverity with his own hands [12]. A. D. 1090.

To accelerate the ſucceſs of his plan for the conqueſt of Normandy, (a ſcheme in which his council concurred), William croſſed the channel with a ſtrong army, and diſembarking near Ville d'Eu, prepared for a vigorous campaign. But, at the interceſſion of the moſt powerful adherents of each party, a negotiation was commenced by the contending princes, and peace was reſtored on theſe conditions: that the county of Eu, the town and abbey of Feſcamp, and every place which had already ſubmitted to William, ſhould remain in his poſſeſſion; that, in conſideration of theſe ceſſions, he ſhould gratify Robert with certain lands in England; that he ſhould alſo aſſiſt the duke in ſubduing the province of Maine, which had ſhaken off the Norman yoke, and in reducing the refractory nobles of the duchy to order and obedience; and that he ſhould make reſtitution of thoſe eſtates of which he had deprived the duke's friends in England. The final article of the treaty imported, that, if either of the contracting parties ſhould die without legitimate offſpring, the ſurvivor ſhould be entitled to the whole ſucceſſion of the defunct. To give the greater ſolemnity to this convention, twelve barons on each ſide guaranteed it by oath [13]. A. D. 1091.

The terms of this accommodation between William and Robert were very diſſatisfactory to their brother Henry, who not only ſaw himſelf excluded from the proſpect of obtaining the ſovereignty either of England or Normandy, but was apprehenſive of being

12. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv. et v.—Ord. Vital.

13. Ann. Waverl. p. 137.—Chron. Sax. p. 197.—Sim. Dunelm. vol. 216.

A. D. 1091. ſtripped of the Cotentin by the conſtruction of that article which bound Rufus to aſſiſt in reducing all Robert's territories to obedience. Unwilling to acquieſce with tameneſs in the ſurrender of the mortgaged diſtrict, he collected a body of forces, with which he garriſoned St. Michael's Mount, a maritime fortreſs of great ſtrength. Here he was beſieged by his two brothers, who had recovered the reſt of the Cotentin. They continued before the Mount for ſeveral weeks, to the great inconvenience of Henry and his partiſans, who were at length expoſed to the miſeries of ſcarcity. During the blockade, William, impelled by the ardor of his courage, furiouſly ruſhed on a party of horſemen, who had ſallied from the Mount. His horſe being killed under him at the firſt encounter, he was unable to diſengage himſelf from the animal; and the trooper who had gained this advantage over him was proceeding to put him to the ſword, when the royal warrior exclaimed, "Stop, fellow! I am the king of "England!" The menacing tone of his voice, and the awe of regal dignity, inſtantly ſuſpended the hoſtile blow; and the victor, reſpectfully raiſing the monarch from the ground, accommodated him with another horſe. Rufus was ſo pleaſed with the valor and generoſity of the ſoldier, that he readily took him into the number of his attendant knights [14].

This incident, which places in a ſtrong light the courage and magnanimity of William, was followed by another occurrence not unworthy of mention, which exhibits a ſtriking *trait* of Robert's humanity and goodneſs of heart. The garriſon being in extreme want of water, Henry ſent a meſſage to the duke, upbraiding him with the proſecution of that mode of hoſtility which deprived another of the common benefits

14. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Knight. Hiſt.

of

of nature. Robert, moved with compaſſion, ſuffered the beſieged to ſupply themſelves with the element which they required, and even preſented Henry with a quantity of wine for his own conſumption. Rufus reprimanded the duke for his unſeaſonable liberality; and, wearied with the length of the blockade, which ill ſuited the impatience of his diſpoſition, he left his brother to complete the reduction of the fortreſs, which was ſoon after ſurrendered to Robert on the terms of ſafety and liberty for the whole garriſon. Henry then wandered about the continent with a retinue compoſed of one knight, three eſquires, and a chaplain; and, in the courſe of his peregrinations, he occaſionally labored under a great penury of ſubſiſtence [15]. A. D. 1091.

While Rufus remained in Normandy, the Scottiſh king invaded the northern frontiers of England; and, having pillaged the country, was obliged to retreat with his ſpoils. William, after he had ſettled his new acquiſitions, and procured the expulſion of Edgar Atheling from Normandy, returned to England with the duke, and prepared a powerful fleet and army for the invaſion of Malcolm's dominions. The equinoctial ſtorms, however, ſo damaged and diſperſed his fleet, to which he truſted for ſupplies of proviſion, that his army felt all the inconveniences of want, which, added to the attacks of cold and fatigue, conſiderably diminiſhed his numbers, and darkened his proſpect of victory. In this emergency, Robert propoſed to his brother, that affairs ſhould be accommodated with the Scots; and the wreck of his fleet, conſpiring with the wretched condition of his forces, ſoftened the mind of Rufus into acquieſcence. By the mediation of the duke and of Edgar Atheling, who had by this time joined his brother-in-law Malcolm,

15. Ord. Vital. lib. viii.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv. et v.

A. D. 1091. peace was concluded between the two kings. The terms of the treaty were, that the Scot ſhould perform homage and fealty to the ſovereign of England, for the territories which had formerly belonged to that kingdom; that William ſhould reſtore to him the twelve Engliſh manors which he had enjoyed under the Conqueror, and allow him an annuity of twelve marks; and that Edgar Atheling ſhould be received into favor by the Engliſh monarch [16].

The peace with Scotland was of ſhort duration. Rufus appeared unwilling to execute the ſtipulations to which he had bound himſelf; and Malcolm, reſenting this conduct, repaired to the Engliſh court, to demand the performance of the treaty. But William refuſed to admit the Scot to an audience, unleſs he would conſent to refer the diſpute to the deciſion of *his* barons ſitting in judicature; an appeal which Malcolm diſclaimed as unreaſonable, affirming that the only equitable mode of determining their difference was that practice which had hitherto prevailed, of ſubmitting the conteſted points to a council both of Scottiſh and Engliſh nobility, aſſembled on the frontiers of the two kingdoms. The arrogant behaviour of Rufus occaſioned a renunciation of the treaty on the part of Malcolm, who, returning into Scotland from Gloceſter (where the court of England then reſided), levied an army, and made an irruption into Northumberland. After a courſe of devaſtation, he inveſted the caſtle of Alnwick: but, during the ſiege, one Morel, at the head of the military vaſſals of Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, attacked him by ſurpriſe; and the action which enſued proved fatal both to the king himſelf and his eldeſt ſon Ed-

A. D. 1093.

16. Ann. Waverl. p. 137.—Chron. Sax. p. 198.—Flor. Vigorn.

ward

ward[17]. The Scots immediately raiſed the ſiege, and carried home the unwelcome information of the death of their ſovereign and his heir-apparent, which had ſo violent an effect on the conjugal and maternal feelings of queen Margaret, that ſhe died on the third day after the recital of the melancholy intelligence[18]. Malcolm was a prince of courage and ability, who contributed in many reſpects to the improvement of his country; but all his hoſtilities againſt England were conducted in ſuch a manner, as to render him more deſerving of the character of a barbarian depredator, than that of a great or magnanimous warrior. His brother Donald ſucceeded him on the throne; but this prince had not reigned above ſix months, before he was depoſed by Duncan, an illegitimate ſon of Malcolm, who, having been given by his father as an hoſtage to the Conqueror, had been releaſed and knighted by the duke of Normandy, and now ſerved in the army of Rufus. In the expulſion of the new king, Duncan was aſſiſted by William, who previouſly exacted from him an oath of fealty for the crown to which he aſpired[19]. A. D. 1093. A. D. 1094.

William was ſo eager for the poſſeſſion of Normandy, that he took every opportunity of debauching the allegiance of the barons of that duchy; and, at the ſame time, neglected to perform his part of the late treaty with Robert, who, piqued at his brother's laxity of faith, ſent ambaſſadors to him to inſiſt on his compli-

17. Chron. Sax. p. 199.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.—Hoved. p. 265, 266.—Chron. Hemingf. lib. i. cap. 17.—The Scottiſh hiſtorians affirm, that Malcolm loſt his life by an act of the moſt infamous treachery, being pierced in the eye by the governor of Alnwick, at the very time when the latter was preſenting the keys of the gates to the Scottiſh king on the point of a ſpear; a ſtory which ſeems to owe it's origin to the efforts of inventive genius.

18. Hoved. p. 266.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Forduni Scoti.—Chron. lib. v. 19. Ann. Waverl. p. 138.—Flor. Vigorn.—Hoved.

A. D. 1094. ance with his engagements. The king, affecting to desire an interview with the duke, passed over to the continent, where he and his brother conferred on the subject of dispute, in presence of those noblemen who had sworn to enforce the observance of the treaty. Rufus not being inclined to an accommodation, a rupture ensued between the brothers; and the king commenced hostilities by attacking the fort of Bures, which did not long withstand his assaults; while Robert, having procured the assistance of the French king, formed the siege of Argentan, which then belonged to William. This place surrendered on the first day of the siege; and the united arms of Philip and the duke made such progress in the reduction of the castles which adhered to Rufus, that he sent messengers to England, ordering 20,000 infantry to be levied without delay for his service: but, when these forces were assembled at Hastings for embarkation, Ralph Flambard, his prime minister, demanded, by his direction, ten shillings from each of them in lieu of their personal service, and then permitted them to retire. The money thus raised was sent over to the king, who made so judicious a disposal of it, that, when Robert and his Gallic ally had arrived at Longueville in their way to the town of Eu, where they intended to besiege William, Philip suddenly turned back into his own territories, the avarice of his temper overwhelming every consideration of honor and policy. The further distribution of Rufus's treasure slackened the efforts of Robert's nobility; and the remainder of the campaign consisted only of petty skirmishes and desultory ravages, which continued till William was called to England by an invasion of the Welsh [20].

20. Flor. Vigorn. ad ann. 1094.—Annal. Waverl. p. 138, 139.—Chron. Hemingf. lib. i.

To

To reſtrain the incurſions of this reſtleſs people, the Conqueror had ſtationed ſome of his moſt powerful chieftains on his weſtern frontiers, on whom he had conferred extraordinary powers and privileges. The neighbourhood of theſe warlike barons had tended to keep the Welſh in awe; and, by diminiſhing their hopes of ſucceſs from irruptions into England, had afforded a greater ſcope for the diffuſion of inteſtine animoſity among their petty princes. Occaſional encroachments had been made on the Welſh territories by the active ſpirit of the Norman lords of the marches; and, before the acceſſion of Rufus, the county of Flint, and other parts of North-Wales, had been reduced by Hugh earl of Cheſter, Robert de Rhudlan, and earl Baldwin, who had eſtabliſhed garriſons, as they advanced, for the ſecurity of their new conqueſts. Various acquiſitions had alſo been made in South-Wales by the ambitious rapacity of the Norman chieftains; and ſome years prior to the commotions which now ſummoned Rufus from Normandy, Jeſtyn, lord of Glamorgan, having been attacked by Rees ap Tudor, prince of South-Wales, had ſolicited the aid of Robert Fitz-hamon, a Norman baron, who had been inveſted with the earldom of Gloceſter. Fitz-hamon, with twelve ſelect knights and an army of gallant followers, joined the forces of Jeſtyn, and ſlew Rees in battle. A diſpute then enſued with regard to the conditions which had been propoſed to the Norman auxiliaries by Eneon, the ſon-in-law and agent of the lord of Glamorgan; and, as the principal manifeſted a repugnance to the execution of the terms which his repreſentative had made with Fitz-hamon, the latter formed a confederacy with Eneon, expelled Jeſtyn from his territories, and appropriated to himſelf and his twelve knights the more fertile parts of Glamorgan,

A. D. 1094.

A. D. 1094. Glamorgan, extending along the coaſt of the Severn æſtuary, leaving to Eneon the more northerly and mountainous parts of that province[21]. About the ſame time, Arnulph, ſon of Roger earl of Shrewſbury, had carried his arms into the weſtern extremity of South-Wales, and had reduced the greater part of the ſhires of Pembroke and Cardigan; and, in North-Wales, the earl his father had fortified the town of Montgomery. Theſe continual encroachments at length rouſed the indignation of the Welſh, who reſolved upon a general attempt to expel the Normans from the principality. Suddenly taking arms, they ruſhed into England, and ravaged with great barbarity the counties of Cheſter, Salop, and Hereford. Another party took by ſtorm the caſtle which the Normans had erected in Angleſey, and regained the poſſeſſion of that iſland. The natives of South-Wales made themſelves maſters of moſt of the Norman forts in the diſtricts of Cardigan and Pembroke, and maſſacred or expelled the new coloniſts of thoſe ſhires[22].

The king, after his return from Normandy, haſtened with an army into Wales, in the midſt of winter.

A. D. 1095. He had no opportunity of coming to a general engagement with the enemy, who decoyed his foremoſt parties into mountainous defiles, and other places calculated to give an advantage to thoſe who were acquainted with the country. In this ſpecies of warfare, he ſuſtained a conſiderable diminution of his force; and was glad to return in the ſpring from ſo unſucceſsful an expedition[23].

During William's abſence, a conſpiracy was formed by a party of Norman barons to deprive him of his

21. Chronicle of Wales, publiſhed by Dr. David Powel.

22. Chron. of Wales, p. 154.—Hoved. p. 266.—Annales de Margan, edit. Gale, p. 2. 23. Chron. Hemingf. lib. i. cap. 19.—Hoved. p. 266.

crown,

crown, and ſubſtitute in his room Stephen count of Aumale, ſon of Odo, count of Champagne, by a ſiſter of the Conqueror. The projector of this plot was Robert de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, who, either diſguſted at the king's arbitrary deportment, or piqued at having received no reward for the ſervice which his vaſſals had performed in putting a ſtop to the depredations of the Scots by the ſlaughter of their ſovereign and the ruin of his army, reſolved to employ his power in the depoſition of Rufus, and brought into his views William count of Eu, Roger de Lacey, Hugh earl of Shrewſbury, and other conſiderable nobles. The king, having ſummoned Mowbray to his court without effect, marched to the northward, and laid ſiege to Newcaſtle; on the ſurrender of which, he inveſted Tinmouth, which underwent a ſiege of ſeveral weeks. After the reduction of this fortreſs, he advanced to Bamborough caſtle, in which Mowbray had taken refuge. This place being well defended, he converted the ſiege into a blockade, leaving a garriſon in an oppoſite fort of his own erection, to which, in alluſion to the purpoſe for which it was intended, he gave the name of *Mal-voiſin*, or bad neighbour. Having taken this precaution, he returned to the ſouth. In the mean while, the earl of Northumberland tampered with ſome of the guards of Newcaſtle, who amuſed him with a promiſe of admitting him privately into that fortreſs. Retiring from Bamborough with thirty men, he was purſued by a party belonging to the garriſon of Mal-voiſin, who had either been informed of his negotiations with the guards of Newcaſtle, or had been enabled, by the vigilance of the watch, to diſcover his flight. The royaliſts cloſely following him, he eſcaped into the monaſtery of Tinmouth, A. D. 1095.

A. D. 1095. Tinmouth, where he was beſieged, wounded, and taken [24].

Rufus, who, on the news of freſh commotions in Wales, had made another expedition into that country, and had penetrated as far as Snowdon, without performing any other exploit than that of repairing the caſtle of Montgomery, which the Welſh had nearly deſtroyed, had no ſooner returned into England than he ordered the captive Mowbray to be conducted to Bamborough, with a menace of putting out his eyes, before the walls, if his counteſs ſhould not immediately ſurrender the caſtle. This threat produced the ſubmiſſion of the rebel garriſon; and, the revolt being now quelled, the king proceeded to the puniſhment of the conſpirators, moſt of whom had been taken priſoners by the royal forces. The earl of Northumberland was confined at Windſor, where he lingered out the long ſpace of more than thirty years. The count of Champagne, and his ſon Stephen, were condemned

A. D. 1096. to impriſonment, and the forfeiture of their Engliſh eſtates: Hugh earl of Shrewſbury was mulcted in the ſum of 3000 pounds; and the count of Eu, having endeavoured to prove his innocence by a formal combat at Old Sarum with his accuſer [25], in which he was vanquiſhed, was puniſhed with the loſs of ſight, as well as with emaſculation; the latter part of his ſentence being recommended by the earl of Cheſter, who, having married his ſiſter to the count, reſented his frequent violation of nuptial fidelity. William de

24. Flor. Vigorn. ad ann. 1095.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.—Ann. Waverl. p. 139.

25. This is the firſt authentic inſtance, in the Engliſh annals, of a judicial combat; a mode of deciſion introduced into this country by the Normans, among whom it had been long practiſed on the continent.

Alderi,

Alderi, the count's couſin and ſteward, was treated with great indignity, which he ſuſtained with uncommon fortitude. He was firſt publicly ſcourged, and then hanged, though his innocence was generally believed. Of the inferior perſons who either had, or were accuſed of having, taken part in the conſpiracy, many were thrown into priſon, ſome were put to death, and others diſmiſſed [26]. A. D. 1096.

About this time, the great project for the recovery of the Holy Land from the poſſeſſion of the Mohammedans, began to agitate the Chriſtian ſtates of Europe, upon whom it operated with more influence, and was proſecuted with greater ardor, than any other enterpriſe that ever was undertaken by a variety of nations embarked in one common cauſe. A detail of the different circumſtances which led to this memorable deſign, would be an unneceſſary encroachment on the preſent hiſtory; but to omit the incidental mention of the origin and progreſs of the cruſades (for that was the appellation given to theſe pious expeditions) would detract from the clear comprehenſion of many of the ſubſequent pages. The practice of making pilgrimages to ſuch places as were deemed ſacred, had prevailed in the early ages of Chriſtianity; and Jeruſalem, the ſcene of the Meſſiah's crucifixion, naturally took the lead among the various objects of Chriſtian curioſity and devout peregrination. The diſtance of that city from the greater part of Europe, and the inconveniences and dangers attending a journey through countries which, in thoſe tumultuous times, frequently reſounded with the clamors of war, and were conſtantly expoſed to the depredations of banditti, rendered a pilgrimage to the capital of Paleſtine

26. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Hoved. p. 267.—Ann. Waverl.—Ord. Vital.

an

A. D. 1096. an arduous task; but, with the magnitude of the expence and the peril, the spiritual efficacy of the journey increased in the same proportion, and the greater reputation did those acquire, who, sacrificing their personal safety and convenience to a point of religious principle, boldly attempted and steadily pursued the meritorious aim of adoring the holy sepulchre. The Saracens, notwithstanding their inveterate animosity against the Christian name, did not, after their conquest of Judea, prohibit the Christians from entering that territory, but were content with exacting a small tribute for the liberty of visiting the scene of the Redeemer's passion. When the Turks, however, poured from the mountains of Tartary and Armenia, and began to reduce those countries which, some centuries before, the Saracens had taken from the Greeks, a very unfavorable prospect presented itself to the Christian pilgrims, who were soon exposed to the most flagrant insults and injuries from those merciless and intolerant barbarians. Hence the difficulties of the pilgrimage were enhanced; and such as returned in safety out of the hands of a people among whom their lives were in constant danger, could not refrain from the most animated representations of the various outrages which they had received from the Turks. The repetition of these complaints, from successive adventurers, could not fail of exciting, in an age when superstition had full sway, the most determined and enthusiastic resentment against the Mohammedan infidels. The clergy took every opportunity of inflaming the minds of the people, by expatiating on the disgrace of suffering a region which had been ennobled by the presence, and sanctified by the miracles, of the great founder of Christianity, to be possessed by ignorant and insolent unbelievers, who not only deterred the European

ropean devotees from viſiting that ſacred ſpot, but exerciſed the moſt ſevere tyranny over the Chriſtians of the Eaſt. A. D. 1096.

A French eccleſiaſtic, known in hiſtory by the deſignation of Peter the Hermit, is generally ſuppoſed to have been the firſt projector of a grand cruſade. The dangers of the pilgrimage to Judea, and the miſerable condition of the Chriſtians of Aſia Minor, Syria, and the adjacent provinces, made a ſtrong impreſſion on his mind; and a conference which he had on this ſubject with Simeon, the Greek patriarch of Jeruſalem, confirmed him in the intention of promoting, with the moſt ſedulous exertions, an expedition of the European princes againſt the infidels of the Eaſt [27]. On his return from the holy city, he waited on the pope (Urban II.) with letters from the patriarch and other Chriſtians of Judea, recounting the oppreſſions and calamities to which they were expoſed from the deſpotiſm of their Mohammedan rulers. The pontiff liſtened with pleaſure to the ſuggeſtions of the zealous hermit; and, when he had maturely reflected on the ſcheme, he was convinced that, whatever might be the event of it with regard to thoſe againſt whom it was directed, it would tend to the augmentation of the papal authority. That he might aſcertain the ſentiments of the public, he convoked a general council at Placentia, which was ſo numerouſly attended, that the deliberations were conducted in the open air. He pathetically exhorted this aſſembly, which conſiſted of upwards of 30,000 perſons, to join in a warlike enterpriſe againſt the enemies of Chriſt, for the reſcue of the ſacred ſepulchre from the profanations of unbelievers, and for the deliverance of the Oriental Chriſtians from the horrors of ſlavery and the miſeries of

27. Matth. Par. p. 22, 23.

per-

A. D. 1096. perſecution. His harangue was received with the moſt clamorous applauſe; and the whole aſſembly ſeemed animated with the warmeſt zeal for the immediate commencement of ſo laudable an expedition, which, they flattered themſelves, would enſure them the approbation of their Creator, and operate as an atonement for all the crimes and iniquities of which they had been guilty.

Another council was afterwards ſummoned at Clermont, in Auvergne, that the contagion of ſo pious a ſcheme might be propagated on this ſide of the Alps. Here Urban addreſſed an elaborate oration to the princes, barons, and prelates, who had flocked to the place of meeting from the different provinces of France, Germany, and the Netherlands. The purport of it was the ſame with that which he had delivered at Placentia; and the effect which it produced was equally powerful, the aſſembly crying out, as it were, with one voice, "It is the will of God!" Some of the nobles who were preſent at this council, were ſo eager to enliſt in the holy war which their ſpiritual father had recommended to them, that they fell on their knees before him, and received from his hands the ſign of the croſs; and this badge of the Chriſtian profeſſion was worn as an *épaulette* by all who engaged in the enterpriſe [28].

The influence of the head of the hierarchy over the minds of the clergy, the reverence which the laity expreſſed for their clerical inſtructors, and the groſs ſuperſtition which, in the middle ages, darkened the perceptions of men, procured the ready aſſent of the Chriſtian world to the extravagant project of an enthuſiaſtic brain; but it would not have been ſo generally adopted, had not the romantic nature of the undertaking perfectly

28. Matth. Par. p. 22.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv. cap. 2.

ſuited

suited the gallant and martial spirit with which most of the European nations were then animated. The zeal with which all ranks of people devoted themselves to this expedition, is almost incredible. Whole cities poured forth their inhabitants for this religious service; the castle of the baron, and the habitations of his vassals, were deserted; the artificer and the husbandman, the soldier and the priest, prepared for this meritorious enterprise; and even the softer sex, not deterred by the probable dangers of the adventure, gloried in the assumption of the cross [29]. A. D. 1096.

The first leader who set out on the crusade, was a knight named Walter, who conducted a numerous host by land to Constantinople, where he was joined by Peter the Hermit, at the head of a very considerable army. But this force being composed of inexperienced persons, who had not been regularly trained to the military art, little benefit was expected from them; and great numbers of them were massacred by the inhabitants of Bulgaria and other countries through which their *route* lay. These were followed by other immense armies, under the command of the most distinguished warriors of the age [30].

The enterprising courage of Robert duke of Normandy, concurring perhaps with the unfortunate predicament in which his dominions stood, harassed by intestine factions, which were artfully cherished by his two brothers, whom their selfish interests had united in a league to distress his government and corrupt the fidelity of his subjects [31], induced him to take an active part in the projected crusade. But his prodigality had so absorbed his finances, that he found

29. Gul. Malmsb. lib. iv.—Ord. Vital. lib. ix.—Ann. Waverl. p. 140. 30. Matth. Par. p. 23—27.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.
31. Ann. Waverl.—Hen. Hunt.—Ord. Vital.

A. D. 1096. them unable to anſwer the neceſſary demands of an expedition, in which his rank would require ſome ſacrifice to ſplendor of appearance. To ſupply this pecuniary deficiency, he had recourſe to his brother William, of whom he requeſted the loan of 10,000 marks, on a mortgage of the Norman duchy. This propoſal met with the immediate concurrence of Rufus, who accepted as a mortgage what he intended to treat as a purchaſe. The ſum required by an agreement in which his ſubjects had no real concern, was exacted from them by the moſt oppreſſive means; and, as ſoon as it was completely levied, the king carried it over to Normandy, paid it into the hands of Robert, and took poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions to which his ambition had long directed his views [32].

A. D. 1097. Having made ſuch arrangements as his new territories appeared to require, William returned to Britain, and employed the ſummer in another attempt for the ſubjugation of the Welſh; but this was equally unfortunate with his former enterpriſes againſt that people [33]. He therefore reſolved to undertake no more expeditions to the weſtward of the Severn; but contented himſelf with ordering additional forts to be erected on the frontiers, and giving directions to the lords of the marches to continue their encroachments on the Welſh, and raiſe fortifications, at proper intervals, in the courſe of their conqueſts. At his return, he wrote to Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, commanding him to prepare an anſwer to a charge which he adduced againſt that prelate, of having ſent his vaſſals for the late Welſh campaign in a very unprepared ſtate, both with reſpect to accoutrements and the

32. Sim. Dunelm. col. 222.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Eadm. lib. ii. 33. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Ann. Waverl. p. 140.—Hoved. p. 267.

knowledge of military diſcipline. Anſelm had been at conſtant variance with the king from the time of his acceptance of the archbiſhopric. The primate was obſtinate, intractable, and ſtrongly tenacious of the punctilios of eccleſiaſtical form, and every point of clerical privilege. Rufus, haughty and domineering, was not ſatisfied without the complete ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects of every denomination; and was ſo enraged at the firmneſs of Anſelm, particularly at his acknowledging Urban for pope, before his ſovereign had recogniſed the authority either of that pontiff or his competitor Clement, that he wiſhed for an opportunity of removing him from his ſee, and had even ſent deputies to Urban, promiſing to acquieſce in his recognition, if he would tranſmit the archbiſhop's pall to England, to be beſtowed according to the king's pleaſure. Urban had immediately ſent over the biſhop of Albano with a pall; and this envoy, by promiſing, in his maſter's name, a general compliance with the king's wiſhes, had prevailed on him to promulgate an edict, ordering his people to acknowledge Urban as the lawful vicar of St. Peter. When William had thus gratified the hopes of Urban, he expected that the papal ambaſſador would teſtify his gratitude by readily concurring in the depoſition of Anſelm; but, though he offered a conſiderable bribe both to the legate and his principal, he could neither conciliate nor extort the ſmalleſt acquieſcence in ſo violent a meaſure. He therefore conſented that Anſelm ſhould receive the pall which the biſhop of Albano had brought over. The breach ſtill continuing between the king and the primate, the latter was deſirous of repairing to Rome, as he found, from the late complaint reſpecting the troops which he had furniſhed for the Welſh expedition, that William was inflexibly reſolv-

A. D. 1097.

A. D. 1097. ed to mortify and humble him. After receiving ſeveral refuſals from the king when he ſolicited permiſſion to go to Rome, he at length extorted the royal conſent, couched, however, in the form of a peremptory order for his ſpeedy departure. He had no ſooner quitted the kingdom, than Rufus declared all his archiepiſcopal acts null and void, and ſeiſed all the eſtates belonging to the ſee which he had occupied [34].

William's attention was now called to the affairs of Scotland. Duncan, to whoſe acceſſion he had greatly contributed, had become extremely unpopular from his partiality to the Engliſh and Normans, and had loſt his life by a conſpiracy of ſome of the Scottiſh nobles. On the aſſaſſination of this prince, Donald had been reſtored to the throne; but his ſubſerviency to Magnus king of Norway, by whoſe ſupport he had been enabled to procure the crown, gave great diſſatisfaction to the Scots, among whom a ſtrong party was formed againſt him. Edgar, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Malcolm and Margaret, was invited to his paternal throne by Donald's opponents; and, as Rufus had aſſiſted in the firſt depoſition of Donald, he now lent his aid to the ſecond dethronement of that prince, and furniſhed Edgar Atheling with a body of troops, that he might place his nephew on the throne of Scotland. As ſoon as this army appeared on the borders, it was reinforced by the diſaffected Scots; the king was defeated and taken priſoner; and young Edgar, by the efforts of his uncle, conſpiring with his father's merits, obtained the crown, which he wore in peace and reputation [35].

The poſſeſſion of the Norman dominions induced William to revive the Conqueror's pretenſions to the

34. Eadm. lib. ii.—Gul. Malmſb. de Pontif. lib. i.

35. Ann. Waverl. p. 141.—Chron. Sax.—Boeth. Scot. Hiſt.

Vexin

Vexin François; and the rejection of the demand which he made for the ceſſion of that territory, impelled him into hoſtilities with the king of France. He beſieged the town of Chaumont, and encouraged the irruptions of the frontier garriſons of Normandy into the French provinces. From this war little advantage was derived on either ſide; and it was diſtinguiſhed by no memorable event. William, at the ſame time, was engaged in a war with Helie, lord of La Fleche, who had, for ſome years paſt, under the protection of the count of Anjou, ruled the county of Maine, with the conſent of the inhabitants, to whom the Norman yoke had never been agreeable. Eager to reduce this appendage of Normandy, Rufus invaded the province, and took ſeveral of it's towns. Robert de Beleſme (who, in this year, ſucceeded to the earldom of Shrewſbury, on the death of his brother Hugh, whom the king of Norway ſlew in battle in the iſle of Angleſey) promoted the king's views by the capture of Helie, who, after defending himſelf with great courage in open war, was conſtrained to yield to the ſurpriſe of an ambuſcade. In conſequence of Helie's misfortune, the count of Anjou took arms in ſupport of his vaſſal's cauſe; but he ſoon conſented to make peace with William, on terms very advantageous to that monarch. He agreed to cede to him the whole county of Maine, on condition of his granting liberty to Helie and all the priſoners whom he had taken. Thus deprived of Maine, Helie offered his ſervice to the king of England, who was inclined to accede to the requeſt of ſo gallant a warrior, but was diſſuaded from it by the jealouſy of the earl of Meulant, one of his favorite courtiers. Finding his offer rejected, Helie boldly intimated to William, that, as he had refuſed the tender of his friendſhip and ſervice, he ought not

A. D. 1097.

A. D. 1098.

A. D. 1098. to be ſurpriſed if he ſhould act as his enemy, and exert all his efforts for the recovery of the territories which he had loſt. A timid and ſuſpicious prince would have ſeiſed the perſon of any one who, at the inſtant of his being reſtored to liberty, uttered ſo haughty a menace; but William, with a magnanimity worthy of a king, replied, "Be gone, and do what-"ever you think proper! I fear not your utmoſt re-"ſentment[36]." He then furniſhed Helie with a ſafe-conduct to La Fleche, where he employed himſelf in ſtrengthening his fortifications; while the king, regardleſs of his threats, paſſed the winter in Normandy,

A. D. 1099. and returned to England in the following ſpring. Here he celebrated the feſtival of Whitſuntide in the ſpacious and magnificent hall of Weſtminſter, which had lately been erected at his expence, and which he affected to undervalue as being ſcarcely of ſufficient dimenſions for a king's bed-chamber[37]. Amidſt the jollity of this ſeaſon, he conferred the biſhopric of Durham, which he had kept in his own hands for three years, on Ralph Flambard, who had long acted as his prime-miniſter, and as chief juſticiary of the realm; and who ſtill retained the favor of his ſovereign, by the ſame means which entailed on him the hatred of the people; by a fertility of invention in the arts of raiſing money on the ſubject, and by an uncommon perſeverance in bringing his ſchemes to iſſue, notwithſtanding all the effuſions of popular clamor, and all the menaces of public indignation.

While the king was enjoying, in the New Foreſt, a ſport for which he inherited his father's paſſion, a courier arrived from the earl of Shrewſbury with intel-

36. Ord. Vital. lib. x.—William of Malmſbury has related a ſimilar anecdote of Rufus and Helie, with a variation of circumſtances. 37. Matth. Par. p. 51.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.

ligence,

ligence, that Helie de la Flêche had taken the city of Le Mans, and was beſieging the citadel. Rufus, inſtantaneouſly deſiſting from his favorite diverſion, furiouſly rode towards the coaſt, and embarked, with a very ſmall number of followers, in a crazy veſſel, when the wind was unfavorable, the atmoſphere cloudy, and the weather tempeſtuous. Urging the reluctant ſeamen to weigh anchor, by aſking them whether they had ever heard of a king that was drowned, he landed the next morning at Barfleur, rode with the utmoſt ſpeed to Bonneville, levied an army of Normans, and advanced towards le Mans. Helie was ſo confounded at the ſudden appearance of his royal antagoniſt, that he raiſed the ſiege, and retired into Anjou. William haſtily ravaged the territories of his opponent, and returned to his kingdom in the autumn [38]. A. D. 1099.

Rufus had already reaped much benefit from the cruſade; for, though few of the turbulent nobles of England had engaged in that romantic enterpriſe, he was indebted to it for the poſſeſſion of a valuable duchy on the continent. From the ſame ſource he was on the point of deriving a conſiderable addition of territory, by an agreement with William, duke of Guienne and count of Poictou, who, being deſirous of contributing to the extermination of the infidels from Paleſtine, was preparing to join the cruſaders with a very numerous army. The Engliſh monarch equipped a fleet, with an intention of conducting an army to the continent, and paying in perſon the ſum which had been ſtipulated on the mortgage of the duke's dominions. While he was waiting for the accompliſhment of his preparations, an unexpected occurrence prevented the execution of his contract. He was hunting in the New Foreſt with his brother Henry, a knight of Pon- A. D. 1100. Aug. 2.

38. Ord. Vital. lib. x.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Matth. Par. p. 51.

A. D. 1100. toiſe named Walter Tyrrel, diſtinguiſhed by his ſkill in archery, and a few attendants. Towards the decline of day, the diſperſion of his retinue left him alone with Tyrrel; and, a ſtag paſſing before him, he aimed a ſhaft at the animal, who was not, however, ſo ſeverely wounded as to be incapable of continuing his courſe. Rufus, holding his hand before his face to avert the rays of the ſetting ſun, watched on foot the progreſs of the wounded deer; and, in this interval, the French knight, obſerving another ſtag at a ſmall diſtance, diſcharged an arrow at the quadruped, which, either glancing on a tree or the deer itſelf, pierced the boſom of the king, who inſtantly fell, and, having broken off the wood of the ſhaft down to that part of it which entered his body, quickly expired [39]. Tyrrel, ſhocked at this cataſtrophe, hurried at full ſpeed from the melancholy ſcene, and embarking at the neareſt port, effected his eſcape into France, whence he repaired to the Holy Land, influenced, perhaps, by a deſire of

39. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.—Annal. Waverl. p. 141.—Chron. Sax. p. 207.—Flor. Vigorn.—Sim. Dunelm.—Eadmer, who was cotemporary with Rufus, affirms, that two reports prevailed with regard to that prince's death: one was, that the arrow by which he loſt his life was ſhot from a bow (though he does not inform us by what hand it was aimed, and his expreſſions, *jacta ipſum percuſſerit*, render it doubtful whether he means that it was *aimed* at the king or ſome other object;) and the other account, which, he ſays, was more generally advanced, purported, that he chanced to ſtumble while he was holding an arrow, and, in the act of falling to the ground, received the point in his breaſt. Suger, the miniſter and biographer of Louis le Gros, declares, that he had heard Tyrrel ſolemnly diſclaim all concern in William's death, and deny his having been preſent in that part of the New Foreſt where the king hunted on the day of his misfortune. But it is not probable, that ſuch a deed would have been aſcribed to Tyrrel by almoſt every Engliſh hiſtorian of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, if he had not been the perpetrator of it. His innocence of any criminal intention, however, we have no reaſon to doubt.

making

making expiation for an unfortunate act, which, in the general opinion, did not flow from any ſiniſter deſign. The king's body was found by ſome ruſtics who accidentally paſſed that way; and being conveyed to Wincheſter, it was interred in the cathedral, on the following day, with little pomp and few marks of ſorrow. His age did not exceed forty-two years; and he had nearly completed the thirteenth year of his reign. A. D. 1100.

William, at the time of his death, had in his own poſſeſſion the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, the ſees of Wincheſter and Sarum, and the eſtates of eleven abbeys[40]; a circumſtance which is mentioned by the clerical writers of thoſe times as a deciſive proof of his impiety. This fact alone will ſufficiently account for the rancorous ſeverity with which the greater part of our ancient hiſtorians have treated the memory of Rufus. Whatever had a ſacrilegious appearance, (and they regarded an invaſion of the eccleſiaſtical dignities as the worſt ſpecies of ſacrilege) could not fail of exciting a high degree of clamor and reſentment. This was a common cauſe to every zealous churchman; and a prince who was guilty of ſuch encroachments could not expect a candid or impartial repreſentation of his character and conduct from the pens of the clergy. Hence the miſts of prejudice, darkening the viſion of the clerical eye, magnified all the errors and vices of this monarch, and deprived him of every virtue. Unbiaſſed by the cenſures thus heaped upon him, we ſhall attempt a fair delineation of his portrait.

From nature he derived a pregnant genius; but the great misfortune of his life ſeems to have been, that he

40. Hen. Huntingd. lib. vii.—Ann. Waverl. p. 142.—Hoved. p. 268.

would

A. D. 1100. would not ſuffer it to admit the improvements of education or diſcipline. He permitted it to diffuſe itſelf into a wild exuberance, unpruned by art, uncorrected by culture. Though he was ſubjected to the tuition of a prelate [41] whoſe talents were not confined to the purſuits of eccleſiaſtical learning, but embraced a wide circle of political wiſdom and general knowledge, he made little progreſs under the auſpices of this able inſtructor; his ſpirits being too volatile to ſubmit to the confinement of ſtudy or the languor of inaction. Born in a warlike age, he neglected the cultivation of his mind for the attainment of objects that appeared more attractive to his natural vivacity and love of enterpriſe. He glowed with ardor to excel in the operations of the martial field, and in every manly and athletic exerciſe. His courage was of the moſt determined kind; but it's effervescence ſometimes approached to raſhneſs; and he was, perhaps, better qualified to ſhine as a partiſan, than to act as commander of an army.

Of his greatneſs of mind, we have already given ſome ſpecimens which will bear a compariſon with the recorded magnanimity of claſſic times; and other inſtances might be adduced, if it were neceſſary to exhibit a multiplicity of proofs. But the good effects that might have reſulted from this noble temper of mind, were deſtroyed by his ambition, which, not being reſtrained by philoſophy or ſcience, overleaped the bounds of juſtice and moderation, led him into a ſeries of rapacity and extortion, and rendered his adminiſtration ſo violent and oppreſſive, as to entail on him the ſecret curſes of his people. It was this paſſion which prompted him to aſſail by bribes the fidelity of his brother's ſubjects; to violate without remorſe the faith of trea-

41. Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

ties,

ties, the obligations of promiſe, the ties of conſanguinity, and the dictates of humanity; to wring from his ſubjects, on pretence of the exigencies of government, thoſe ſums which he employed in promoting his own intereſted views; to encourage the reſort of ſoldiers of fortune from all parts of the continent, whom he profuſely rewarded for their ſervice with the fruits of perpetual rapine. A. D. 1100.

His uncommon diſpatch in the execution of his deſigns, reſulted leſs from an impatience of diſpoſition, than from the impulſe of an active and vigorous mind, fully ſenſible of the importance of celerity, and the ill conſequences of idle procraſtination. Though uſually open and ingenuous, he could occaſionally ſtoop to the practice of diſſimulation, when he conceived it to be expedient for his purpoſes. His talents of inſinuation were not contemptible; and he had no ſmall knowledge of mankind. He diſcerned the corruption of the clergy, though ſhaded by the veil of religion; and this was probably the reaſon of his paying ſo little regard to the exteriors of devotion, though his judgment ought to have convinced him of the impropriety of checking, by the influence of a ſovereign's example, the prevalence of national piety: but, notwithſtanding his profane demeanor, he does not appear to have been totally deſtitute of all ſenſe of religion; for our hiſtorians agree, that, when his paſſions were cooled by a dangerous illneſs which ſeiſed him about the middle of his reign, he lamented the numerous ſins and iniquities of his life, and made the ſtrongeſt promiſes of reforming his conduct. We find, however, that his return to convaleſcence effaced every virtuous ſentiment; and that his appetites, reſuming their accuſtomed power over his reaſon, re-plunged him into his former

A. D. 1100.

former courſe of tyranny, profligacy, and immorality [42].

Though his policy did not exhibit the refinement of modern times, it was not altogether deſpicable. By mingling the attractions of bribery with the force of arms, he baffled the deſigns, and diſſolved the union, of his enemies. He had the dexterity to keep the clergy in ſtrict ſubjection to his authority, at a time when his treatment of them was ſuch as would, in all probability, have produced a general revolt in the reign of a leſs courageous or enterpriſing monarch. The conſpiracies that broke out againſt him were eaſily ſubdued by his activity, addreſs, and artifice; which left, to thoſe who groaned under his exactions, no other hopes of reſcue, than by the termination of their oppreſſor's life in the ordinary courſe of nature, or by the medium of a violent caſualty.

Though he ſometimes diſplayed a truly royal clemency, he was not, on all occaſions, influenced by tenderneſs or humanity. His augmentation of the ſeverity of the foreſt-laws, and his rigorous execution of them, are far from redounding to his credit, either as a man or as a king. Before he was firmly ſettled on the throne, he promiſed a relaxation of theſe ſtatutes; but his ſubſequent conduct clearly proved his want of ſincerity and honor; for he not only rendered the killing of a deer a capital offence, but rarely ſuffered mercy to temper the ſtrict enforcement of the foreſt code, though, in other branches of criminality, he would frequently connive at the greateſt enormities [43].

He had a taſte for magnificence in his entertainments, dreſs, buildings, and equipage. He was liberal to his friends, and the aſſociates of his convivial hours.

42. Chron. Sax. ad ann. 1093.—Ann. Waverl. p. 138.—Eadm. lib. i. 43. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.

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Though ſtern and imperious in his public deportment, he was ſocial and condeſcending in his hours of recreation. He had a turn for wit and humor; and, not content with exerciſing his ridicule upon others, he frequently turned the edge of it againſt himſelf, particularly when he wiſhed to remove or palliate the odium of an unpopular meaſure [44]. He was addicted to intemperance in the pleaſures of the table, and was no ſtranger to the purſuits of incontinence; but whether his amours produced any iſſue, we do not learn from deciſive authority, though we know that his contempt for the matrimonial union of the ſexes precluded him from having any legitimate offſpring. With reſpect to his perſon, he did not exceed the middle ſize; he was diſtinguiſhed by his ſtrength and agility; his complexion was ſanguine; his features were not remarkable for beauty; and his viſage diſplayed an extraordinary ferocity, which was partly natural and partly aſſumed. A. D. 1100.

The general ſtate of the nation, during the reign of William Rufus, is thus deſcribed by hiſtorians. The court was a ſcene of riot and debauchery: the youthful nobles were as prodigal as their ſovereign, diſſolute, luxurious, and guilty of luſts of the moſt depraved ſpecies: the king's mercenary ſoldiers, unreſtrained by order or diſcipline, infeſted the country with luſt and rapine: the magiſtrates, imitating the royal example, were venal and rapacious: offices of rank and power were enjoyed by thoſe who, having procured their reſpective ſtations by pecuniary gratification, reimburſed themſelves with the ſpoils of the people: the clergy, though they monopoliſed all the learning of the times, were little influenced by it in a moral

44. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv.

view,

A. D. 1100. view, but carried their luxury and corruption to an excefs which degraded their character; and the bulk of the community, when the contagion of vice was diffufed around them, could not be expected to preferve a purity of life and manners [45].

45. Gul. Malmfb. lib. iv.—Eadm. lib. i.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.

CHAP.

BRITISH
14 NO 63
MUSEUM



HENRY I.

CHAP. IV.

HENRY I.

Henry takes advantage of the abſence of his elder brother Robert, to acquire the crown of England.—He grants a charter highly favorable to public liberty.—He unites himſelf with the Anglo-Saxon blood-royal by marrying Matilda, the niece of Edgar Atheling.—Robert lands in England with an army;—but he tamely relinquiſhes his claim for a penſion.—Henry commits ſeveral acts of violence againſt his brother's adherents.—He artfully foments the troubles of Normandy; then invades the duchy, and reduces it under his dominion.—The duke is brought priſoner into England, and never recovers his liberty.—Henry is involved in diſputes with the pope and archbiſhop Anſelm.—He endeavours, without ſucceſs, to get duke Robert's ſon into his power.—He is engaged in hoſtilities with Lewis VI. of France, and other continental princes.

IN turbulent times, the greateſt precautions for the acquiſition of a crown are frequently defeated by trivial contingencies. The hereditary pretenſions of Robert duke of Normandy to the throne of England, concurring with the ſolemn confirmation of his compact with Rufus by the principal nobles of both countries, who had ſworn to ſupport his claim in the event of that monarch's dying without iſſue, would undoubtedly have raiſed him to the dignity of ſovereign of this kingdom, if he had been preſent to avail himſelf of his right. But the mere circumſtance of his abſence, which, in a more ſettled period, would not have prevented A. D. 1100.

A. D. 1100.

vented the succession of one whose claim was so just, and apparently so well guarded by formal provisions, baffled all his precautions, and ruined his hopes of royalty. After he had contributed, by his eminent valor and military skill, to the reduction of Nice, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and to the overthrow of the Mohammedan power in Syria and Palestine, he resided near a twelvemonth in Italy before his return to his native country. He there contracted a marriage with Sibylla, the daughter of the count of Conversano, a nobleman of Norman extraction. By thus lengthening his absence, he subjected himself to a second exclusion from the English throne.

Prince Henry had equal ambition with his deceased brother; and the prudence and policy which distinguished his character, were of particular service in the promotion of his designs. As he was sporting in the New Forest at the time of William's misfortune, he was soon acquainted with the vacancy of the throne; and reflecting on the facility with which Rufus had supplanted his elder brother, he resolved to take immediate steps for the attainment of the regal dignity. He rode at full speed to Winchester castle, with a view of making himself master of the regalia and treasures of the late king. He found the guards unwilling to deliver up the keys of the treasury; and while he was endeavouring, by menaces, to intimidate them into compliance, William de Breteuil, governor of the castle, returned from the forest, and expostulated with Henry on the injustice of his demand, affirming that both the crown and treasure had now devolved on his brother, Robert, not only by right of primogeniture, but by the solemn designation of the late sovereign; and, as he had already bound himself by oath to support the succession of Robert, he would maintain that prince's right against all opposers. Henry, aware that the conjuncture was critical,

critical, and called for decisive measures, drew his sword, and threatened Breteuil with instant massacre if he should continue to with-hold his consent. The earls of Warwick and Meulant, and other nobles, arriving at this instant, espoused the pretensions of Henry, and compelled the governor to put him in possession of the royal treasure [1]. A. D. 1100.

Having superintended the obsequies of his brother, and procured the recognition of his title from the nobility assembled at Winchester [2], Henry commenced the exercise of sovereignty by conferring the bishopric of that see on William Giffard, chancellor of the late monarch. Then repairing to the metropolis, he was acknowledged as king by an assembly hastily convened; and, having sworn to abolish all the unjust practices and illegal exactions of the late reign, and enact better laws than had ever been in use under any preceding sovereign of England, he was crowned in Westminster-abbey, by Maurice bishop of London, on the third day after the death of Rufus [3]. Aug. 5. Before the expiration of this day, he granted a charter, by which he engaged to alleviate the rigor of the feudal institutions, to re-establish the laws of Edward the Confessor, as improved by William I. and to make an effectual reform of the abuses committed during the administration of his father and brother. In the same charter, he pardoned all murders which had been perpetrated before his coronation, and remitted, with some exceptions, all the debts due to the crown [4].

Henry's

1. Ord. Vital. lib. x. 2. Annal. Waverl. p. 142.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vii. 3. Chron. Sax. p. 208.—Ann. Waverl.

4. Matth. Par. p. 53.—Copies of this charter were immediately sent to all parts of the kingdom, one to each county; but the purport of it was so little regarded by Henry after he had established himself

A. D. 1100. Henry's next meaſure did not tend to diminiſh the popularity which he had gained by theſe conceſſions. The biſhop of Durham being univerſally deteſted by the people for his concern in the late king's oppreſſions, he commanded him to be impriſoned in the Tower of London. Another ſtep which he took about the ſame time, gratified the clergy, and was not diſagreeable to the nation at large. This was the recall of Anſelm, whom he reinſtated in the ſee of Canterbury immediately after his return from the continent. The more to ingratiate himſelf with the clergy, ſome of whom had ventured to reprove him for his frequent violations of chaſtity, he reſolved to enter into the connubial ſtate; and, in making choice of a queen, he prudently determined to unite the Norman blood with that of the Anglo-Saxons; a meaſure which, he was convinced, would ſecure to him the affection of the Engliſh, attached as they were to the deſcendants of their ancient ſovereigns. The princeſs on whom he fixed his attention was Matilda, great-grand-daughter of Edmund Ironſide, being the daughter of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, by Margaret, the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling. Some doubts occurring with regard to the legality of a marriage with this lady, as ſhe had worn the veil at Rumſey, Anſelm convoked a ſynod to inquire into the affair; and the reſult was favorable

on the throne, that, in the reign of king John, it was almoſt forgotten that ſuch a charter had ever exiſted; and ſcarce a ſingle copy of it could then be found. Sir Henry Spelman obſerves, that this inſtrument was the original of *Magna Charta*, containing moſt of the articles of it, either ſpecifically expreſſed, or generally included under the confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor.

Beſides this general charter, Henry granted a particular one to the capital of his kingdom, confirming the privileges which his father had allowed the citizens, and favoring them with ſome additional immunities.

to the king's wiſhes; for it appeared that Matilda, A. D. 1100.
though ſhe had reſided in a nunnery, had not taken the vows of the ſiſterhood, having only aſſumed the veil to protect herſelf from the luſt of the Norman ſoldiery. All ſcruples being now removed, the primate performed the nuptial ceremony, and inveſted the bride with the diadem of queen [5].

The duke of Normandy having returned into his own country within a month after the deceaſe of William, was ſenſibly mortified at the injuſtice of Henry's conduct, in ſupplanting an elder brother during his abſence. He therefore reſolved to make a ſpeedy attempt for the acquiſition of that crown which his ambitious brother had ſo ungenerouſly ſeiſed. He was encouraged to aſſert his claim by the earl of Shrewſbury, the earl of Surry, and the major part of the barons of England, who, being deſirous of the union of the kingdom and duchy under one head, and conſcious of the preferable title of Robert, were eager to place him on the throne which Henry had uſurped. But the principal ſtimulator of the duke's ambition and reſentment, was the biſhop of Durham, who, having eſcaped from the Tower, had fled to Normandy, A. D. 1101.
where, by his eloquence and addreſs, he had inſinuated himſelf into the favor of Robert [6].

Being informed of the duke's preparations, Henry equipped a fleet for the defence of his coaſts; but the ſpirit of diſaffection influenced moſt of his ſeamen to carry over their ſhips to his brother. Apprehenſive of the further effects of Robert's influence and popularity, he practiſed upon his ſubjects all the arts of perſuaſion, treated them with uncommon affability, aſſured them of his intention of ſtrictly adhering to every ar-

5. Gul. Malmſb. lib. v.—Eadm. lib. iii.

6. Hoved. p. 268.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. v.—Ord. Vital. lib. x.

A. D. 1101. ticle of the charter which he had granted, and entreated them not to violate their allegiance to a ſovereign who, from principle as well as inclination, was determined to maintain their liberties in the fulleſt extent. Senſible of the expediency of fixing the clergy in his intereſt, he had recourſe to archbiſhop Anſelm, whoſe zealous ſervice he ſecured by promiſing to be governed by him in all eccleſiaſtical affairs, and to pay an implicit and uniform obedience to the decrees of the court of Rome. In an aſſembly of the nobles, clergy, and people, he employed this prelate as a mediator; and the latter, taking the king by the hand, pretended to vouch for him, that he would regulate his whole conduct by equitable laws, and would cultivate every branch of good government. Confiding in Henry's ſincerity, Anſelm was indefatigably ſedulous in his endeavours to check that general defection which had filled the king's mind with the ſtrongeſt alarms both for his political and perſonal ſafety. He attended the camp which had been formed near Pevenſey, and harangued the different corps of the army[7], repreſenting to them the proſpect of future puniſhment which awaited all who ſhould revolt from their anointed ſovereign, expatiating on the abilities and virtues of Henry, and holding out the moral certainty of a ſeries of national felicity under the ſway of ſuch a prince. His exhortations tended to confirm the troops in their fidelity; and the whole army ſeemed to be animated with an ardent zeal in the royal cauſe, particularly the Engliſh, whom Henry, by his revival of the Saxon laws, and his marriage with Matilda, had ſtrongly attached to his ſervice[8].

While Henry was exerting every effort to maintain himſelf in his uſurpation, his brother landed at Portſ-

7. Eadm. lib. iii. 8. Hoved. p. 268.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. v.

mouth

mouth with an army of his countrymen. The force of the invader was augmented, on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Wincheſter, by ſome of the barons who had invited him into England; but the riſing in his favor was not ſo general as he had been taught to expect by the intelligence which he had received. The king had no ſooner been informed of Robert's debarkation, than he marched into Hampſhire to oppoſe his progreſs. The two armies, poſted at a ſmall diſtance from each other, remained inactive for ſeveral days, the leaders being inſpired with a mutual unwillingneſs to provoke an engagement. Robert's wonted ardor ſeemed to have forſaken him; for, though he came over with a full determination of boldly contending for the crown, he tamely reſigned his claim on the firſt mention of peace. Perhaps he entertained doubts of the fidelity of his ſoldiers, and began to apprehend, from ſome of the nobles who had joined him, a renewal of that treachery which he had frequently experienced in his own dominions; or, as he was not untinctured with ſuperſtition, he might, as an ancient writer [9] affirms, dread the conſequences of an excommunication, which the Engliſh primate had threatened to denounce againſt him, if he ſhould perſiſt in his hoſtile intentions. A.D. 1101.

The mediation of Anſelm and other prelates, concurring with that of the more prudent barons on each ſide, effected a treaty between the brothers. The duke conſented to ſurrender his right to the crown of England, in conſideration of the annual payment of 3000 marks from Henry, who alſo ſtipulated to deliver up all the towns and forts which he held in Normandy or Maine, except Domfront. The other articles of the convention purported, that the adherents of each

9. Eadmer.

A. D. 1101. brother ſhould be completely pardoned by the prince againſt whom they had reſpectively taken arms; that the ſurvivor ſhould inherit the territories of the deceaſed brother, in default of legitimate iſſue; and that neither of the princes ſhould give encouragement to the enemies of the other [10]. Twelve noblemen, on each ſide, ſwore that they would ſecure the performance of this treaty; but their ſanction was not more efficacious in preventing the infraction of it than the like guarantee had been in the treaty between Robert and the late king. The duke, after continuing about two months in England with his brother, who treated him with an appearance of cordiality, paſſed over to Normandy with a part of his army, the other part having returned as ſoon as the negotiation had been concluded. The Engliſh were pleaſed at the departure of Robert with the remainder of his forces, as they had committed great diſorders in the vicinity of their camp [11].

Henry had no intention of adhering to that part of the treaty which reſpected the pardon of his brother's adherents. The danger of ſuffering ſo many turbulent nobles to remain in poſſeſſion of a power which they might again be tempted to exert to his prejudice, overwhelmed the ſentiments of honor and good faith, and determined him to ſtrip the moſt conſiderable of Robert's friends, on various pretences, of their Engliſh property. Of the barons who had invited the duke to dethrone Henry, Robert de Beleſme, earl of Arundel and Shrewſbury, was the moſt powerful; for, excluſive of his great eſtates in England and Wales, he had valuable poſſeſſions in Normandy and Perche, and was adminiſtrator of the county of Ponthieu in the name

10. Ann. Waverl. p. 142.—Chron. Sax. p. 209.—Chron. Hemingf. lib. i. cap. 27. 11. Ann. Waverl.—Ann. de Marg.—Hoved.

of

of his own ſon, whom he had by the count's heireſs. As he was a man of a reſtleſs and haughty ſpirit, the king, deſirous of annihilating his power as a ſubject of England, meanly employed ſpies to watch his actions and deportment. The unguarded temper of this diſaffected nobleman ſoon produced abundant matter of accuſation againſt him. He was indicted on forty-five articles, which were delivered to him in writing in the king's court of judicature, and which he promiſed to anſwer; but, inſtead of preparing his vindication, which, he knew, would not contribute to ſoften the revengeful ſpirit of Henry, or procure a favorable ſentence from the ſervile juſticiaries of the court, he reſolved to defend himſelf by arms[12]. A proclamation was iſſued, declaring him an enemy to the ſtate, if he ſhould not appear, by a certain day, to undergo a trial before his peers. When the limited time had elapſed, the king raiſed an army, and inveſted the caſtle of Arundel, which the earl had lately provided with all the requiſites for ſuſtaining a ſiege. Having erected ſome forts to blockade the place, he proceeded to Bridgnorth, and, by corrupting the garriſon, which chiefly conſiſted of Welſh, rendered himſelf maſter of that ſtrong fortreſs. The earl having retired to Shrewſbury, Henry advanced againſt him with a conſiderable army, which ſtruck ſuch terror into that nobleman, that he ſubmitted to the king's clemency, as he found himſelf in danger of being ſpeedily overpowered by the royaliſts, who had propagated diſſenſion among his allies and adherents. Henry accepted his ſubmiſſions, on condition of his ſurrendering all his caſtles, and quitting the kingdom. All his poſſeſſions in England and Wales were confiſcated, as were alſo the eſtates of his two brothers, Arnulph de Montgomery, lord of Pem-

A. D. 1101.

A. D. 1102.

12. Ord. Vital. lib. xi.

A. D. 1102. broke, and Roger earl of Lancaſter[13]. The lands of theſe potent nobles were ſubdivided among many inferior perſons, by the judicious policy of Henry, who, conſcious of the precarious eſtabliſhment of a prince, when any of his ſubjects are permitted to enjoy a power too exorbitant for the due balance of the conſtitution, reſolved to omit no opportunity of diminiſhing the overgrown eſtates of his principal barons, and of weakening, by diſtribution, that immoderate influence which, when concentrated in the hands of one, tended to alarm the fears of the ſovereign, and obſtruct the operations of the executive power.

Having ſtrengthened his throne by the expulſion of the family of Beleſme, Henry ventured to extend the rigors of confiſcation to the moſt powerful of the remaining friends of the duke of Normandy. Robert Malet, Robert de Pontefract, and other barons, were deprived of their Engliſh lands, and driven to the continent. Some were heavily fined, and others variouſly oppreſſed[14].

While the king thus augmented his power in the ſtate, he was equally eager to ſubject the church to his authority. But he met with a perſevering oppoſition from Anſelm, who was a ſtrenuous aſſertor of all the prerogatives claimed by the court of Rome. When Henry had required him to do the ſame homage for the temporalities of his ſee which he had performed to his predeceſſor, the primate had peremptorily refuſed, alleging the canons lately enacted in a papal council, by which it was ordained that no eccleſiaſtic ſhould either do homage to a layman for any clerical dignity, or receive from him the inveſtiture of any preferment of that

13. Gul. Malmſb. lib. v.—Ord. Vital.—Hoved. ad ann. 1102.
14. Ord. Vital. lib. xi.

deſcrip-

deſcription[15]. The king, though highly offended at the obſtinacy of Anſelm, had diſſembled his reſentment, that he might not give the archbiſhop a pretence for transferring his intereſt to his elder brother. He had twice ſent envoys to Rome, to treat with pope Paſchal II. on this ſubject; but the anſwers returned by his holineſs did not correſpond with the wiſhes of Henry. Unwilling, however, to relinquiſh the prerogatives of his crown, he inſiſted on receiving homage from Anſelm; but the bigoted prelate was ſtill refractory. At length, at the king's requeſt, Anſelm undertook a journey to Rome, with inſtructions to procure a remiſſion of the pope's rigor on the diſputed points of inveſtiture and homage[16]. A. D. 1102. A. D. 1103.

The complaints of the barons who had been lately proſcribed by Henry, having reached the ears of his brother, he came over to the Engliſh court to remonſtrate againſt the king's violation of the indemnity ſti-

15. Eadm. lib. ii. et iii.—The following reaſon was aſſigned by the ſynod for prohibiting the clergy from performing homage to princes or other laymen, (a ceremony which conſiſted in putting both the hands between thoſe of the ſuperior lord). It was declared by the pope to be "a moſt execrable thing, that thoſe hands which poſſeſſed the extraor-"dinary power of creating, by their miniſtry, God, the creator of all "things, and offering him up for the redemption of the whole human "race, ſhould be ſubjected to ſuch ignominy, as to be put, in token "of ſubmiſſion, between profane hands, which were polluted day and "night with the obſcenity of impure contacts, and degraded by the "iniquitous practices of bloodſhed and rapine." Eadmer, who was preſent in this council with his patron Anſelm, affirms, that theſe remarks of the holy father (Urban II.) received the univerſal aſſent and acclamations of the members. The pontiff's ſtyle of argument requires no comment, as every reader will perceive the extreme abſurdity of his obſervations; but it may not be unneceſſary to intimate, that his holineſs, in his aſſertion reſpecting a prieſt's having the power of creating God, alluded to the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, which had lately become an acknowledged tenet of the Romiſh church.

16. Gul. Malmſb. de Pontif. lib. i.—Eadm. lib. iii.

pulated

A. D. 1103. pulated by the late treaty. Henry recriminated by charging the duke with having protected and rewarded the rebellious earl of Shrewsbury, contrary to that article which precluded one party from countenancing the enemies of the other. From the harshness of the king's behaviour, Robert began to apprehend that even his liberty was in danger; and, to secure his escape, he consented, at the suggestion of the earl of Meulant, his brother's prime minister, to relinquish, by way of compliment to queen Matilda, the pension which her husband had agreed to allow him [17]. Henry, pleased at the advantage which he had gained on this occasion, condescended to gratify Robert by restoring the earldom of Surry to William de Warrenne, whose loud complaints of the injustice of his confiscation had been the principal cause of the duke's visit. When Robert's reflexion returned, he was chagrined at his own imprudence, in having put himself into the power of his designing brother; and hastily retreated from a court in which artifice and perfidy prevailed over the maxims of ingenuous policy.

The king, in the progress of his plan for the proscription of every person of rank whom he suspected of an attachment to the duke, inflicted the penalties of confiscation on William earl of Mortagne and Cornwall, son of the Conqueror's uterine brother Robert. This aspiring nobleman, not content with the possession of his father's estates, had demanded of Henry the earldom of Kent, as heir to his uncle Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who had died in the first crusade. The king had refused to comply with this requisition, which was inconsistent with his intentions of reducing the power of his nobles; and he now instituted a pro-

17. Gul. Malmsb. lib. v. — Ord. Vital. lib. xi. — Chron. Sax. p. 211.

ceſs

ceſs againſt the claimant for the recovery of ſome lands which he was accuſed of having unjuſtly ſeiſed. The ſentence of the king's court was adverſe to the cauſe of the defendant, who was deprived of the lands in queſtion; but Henry, being eager to ruin the earl, was far from being ſatisfied with the mere recovery of theſe manors, and therefore proceeded, without heſitation, to confiſcate all the Engliſh eſtates belonging to him [18]. Enraged at this treatment, William retired to his continental poſſeſſions, and commenced hoſtilities againſt the Norman caſtles which the king, regardleſs of his engagements, had not ſurrendered to the duke, as well as againſt Henry's partiſans in Normandy. The devaſtations committed by this turbulent nobleman, co-operating with the ſimilar conduct of Robert de Beleſme, rendered the duchy a ſcene of the greateſt diſorder. The haraſſed natives made frequent applications to their ſovereign, conjuring him to take effectual meaſures for reſtoring peace to an afflicted country. But ſuch was the weakneſs of Robert, that he had long loſt all authority over his ſubjects. His extreme profuſion, his aſtoniſhing facility of temper, the indolence which oppreſſed him whenever he was not engaged in the purſuits of war, and his remiſſneſs in every particular which reſpected the government of his people, had reduced him to a mere cipher in the ſtate which he was appointed to rule [19]. The ſword of juſtice had loſt it's edge by diſuſe: freebooters,

A. D. 1104.

18 Hoved. p. 269.—Gul. Malmſb. lib. v.

19. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iv. ad finem.—Gul. Neubrigenſ. lib. i.—Ordericus Vitalis informs us, that the duke had by this time beſtowed all his demeſnes among the favorites of his court, except the city of Rouen; and that, by granting whatever was aſked, and conniving at the thefts of his ſervants, he was ſometimes ſo deſtitute of clothes as to be unable to appear in public.

both

A. D. 1194. both of high and low rank, assailed their neighbours with impunity: the mutual animosities of the nobles, and the licentiousness of the inferior people, banished all security from the duchy; and every vestige of that regular administration which it had enjoyed in the time of the Conqueror, was obliterated by his son's incapacity and imprudence.

Henry reflected with secret joy on the troubles of Normandy, which opened a pleasing prospect to his unnatural ambition. Instead of feeling compunction for having defrauded Robert of the sovereignty of a flourishing kingdom, he was anxious to deprive him of the territories which he had long possessed. The emotions of fraternal affection would have induced a less ambitious prince to support, rather than embroil, the government of a brother; and gratitude seemed to dictate a return of friendship for the duke's easy cession of a crown to which he had an acknowledged right. But, in addition to his lust of dominion, Henry was probably stimulated against Robert by motives of revenge for the imprisonment which he had suffered by order of that prince, as well as for the ill treatment which he had received from him in the affair of the Cotentin.

The duke had roused himself from his indolence to oppose the ravages of Robert de Belesme and the earl of Mortagne; but, finding himself incapable of reducing those formidable rebels, he had made a composition with them, and returned to Rouen, where he relapsed into the enjoyment of dissolute pleasures. In the mean time, the oppressions and depredations committed by the petty tyrants of the duchy, became so intolerable, that some of the more peaceful nobles invited the king of England to take their country under his protection, as their natural sovereign was unqualified for discharging the necessary functions of government.

ment. The clergy, in particular, were desirous of Henry's interposition; and Serlo bishop of Seez, with the abbot of a monastery in that city, both of whom had been sufferers by these disturbances, came over to this kingdom to have an interview with Henry, whom they entreated to use his endeavours for restoring to Normandy that order and security which this prince had established in his own dominions [20]. A. D. 1104.

The king was not displeased at the plausible pretext which he now had for interposing in the concerns of the duchy. He had before sent over the earl of Meulant to encourage his transmarine friends, and undermine the interests of his brother; and he himself now crossed the channel with an army, that he might personally examine the state of affairs in the country which he had been solicited to protect. The nobles of the duchy having flocked to him on his arrival, with bitter complaints of the mal-administration of Robert, he promised to take their case into consideration; but his present views being less directed to the redress of their grievances, than to the conquest of their country, he practised all the arts of corruption and intrigue to secure their concurrence in his sinister intentions. In an interview with the duke, he reproached him for the negligence of his government, for his connivance at the excesses of his licentious barons, and his total indifference to the welfare and prosperity of those who had a claim on his protection. Robert, in return, condemned Henry's want of honor and feeling, manifested in his endeavours to debauch the subjects of his own brother from their allegiance, in his violation of the terms of the late treaty, and in his hypocritical pretences of defending the Normans from injury, when his sole view was the gratification of his perfidious ambition.

20. Ord. Vital. lib. xi.

A. D. 1104. bition. Notwithſtanding this reciprocal aſperity, the meeting terminated with an appearance of amity; and the iſſue of it was particularly agreeable to Henry, who, by his happy talent of inſinuation, prevailed on the duke to cede to him the ſovereignty of the county of Evreux[21]. He then returned to England, with a full determination of proſecuting his ambitious deſigns in the following year.

A. D. 1105. Having levied a numerous army, and extorted great ſums from his people, he paſſed over to the continent in the ſpring; and landing at Barfleur, proceeded to Carentan, where he encamped. Here he was ſoon joined by many of the Norman nobility, who, ſeduced by corruption, opened their fortreſſes for the admiſſion of Engliſh garriſons[22]. He was alſo reinforced by Helie de la Flêche, who, on the death of Rufus, had recovered the county of Maine; and by a body of mercenaries from Bretagne. Before he entered upon hoſtilities againſt his unfortunate brother, he pretended to have received diſpatches from pope Paſchal, encouraging him to deliver the Norman church from oppreſſion, and re-eſtabliſh, by vigorous meaſures, that tranquillity which the duke was unable to maintain. In the church of Carentan, he was gratified with an elaborate diſcourſe from the biſhop of Seez, expatiating on the multiplied miſeries of the Normans, oppreſſed as they were by inhuman tyrants, whom their ſovereign was too weak and indolent to chaſtiſe; exaggerating the duke's miſconduct, incapacity, and debauchery; prognoſticating a continuance of the ſame calamities and diſorders, unleſs the duchy ſhould ſpeedily have a new maſter; and conjuring Henry to take active ſteps for reſcuing his father's ſubjects from the horrors of anarchy and inteſtine commotion,

21. Ord. Vital. lib. xi. 22. Hoved. p. 269.—Eadm. p. 80.

by

by assuming the government of the dukedom, which his brother had justly forfeited by a long series of impolitic management, and by with-holding from his people that protection which alone entitled him to their allegiance. Thus stimulated to action, the king advanced to Bayeux, where he met with such a spirited resistance, that, when he had taken the place by storm, he revenged himself on the inhabitants by reducing it to ashes, and putting many of them to the sword. The efficacy of pecuniary distribution opened to him the gates of Caen; and this success produced the submission of other places of inferior consequence. He then marched to Falaise, which he assaulted several times in vain; a repulse which, conspiring with the secession of the count of Maine, and the diminution of the king's treasures, induced him to raise the siege, and return to England [23]. A. D. 1105.

Soon after his arrival in his capital, he was visited by Robert de Belesme, who would hardly have ventured into the dominions of his powerful enemy, if he had not received some overtures of encouragement. We are not informed of the particulars of their interview; but there is some ground for suspecting that the promises of Henry prevailed on Belesme to betray the duke under the mask of friendship.

Had the king of France been a politic prince, he would have assisted his vassal the duke of Normandy against the attempts of the English monarch, with a view of preventing the union of the kingdom and the duchy under one sovereign; an event which could not tend to the security of the French dominions. The counts of Anjou, Maine, and Bretagne, were equally bound, in point of policy, to oppose such a conjunction, which, they might imagine, would accelerate

23. Ord. Vital. lib. xi.—Hoved.—Ann. Waverl. et Marg.

the

A. D. 1105. the ſubjection of their reſpective territories to the ambitious graſp of a potent and enterpriſing neighbour. But theſe three princes, inſtead of ſuccouring Robert, or remaining neutral, injudiciouſly lent their aid to Henry, towards the ſubjugation of the Norman duchy. Thus unſupported by the continental princes, as well as deſerted by the majority of his own barons, the duke found his ſituation extremely dangerous, and endeavoured to avert his impending ruin by a romantic appeal to the fraternal piety and ſenſibility of Henry. He haſtened

A. D. 1106. over to the court of England, and pathetically expoſtulated with the king on the injuſtice of his late attempts to deprive him of his duchy, entreating him to deſiſt from ſo ungenerous an enterpriſe, and reſtore the towns which he had wreſted from his dominion. Henry received theſe remonſtrances with arrogance and contempt, refuſed to make the ſmalleſt compenſation or reſtitution, and hinted to the duke, that he might conſider it as a mark of favor to be permitted to return home in ſafety. Robert, rouſed to indignation by this unjuſtifiable behaviour, threw out ſome menaces againſt the king; and returning to his duchy, prepared for a reſolute defence [24].

Henry now convoked an aſſembly of his ſtates, and harangued them with great eloquence on the affairs of Normandy. He drew an affecting picture of the miſeries which the Normans endured, in conſequence of their ſovereign's want of political capacity, his propenſity to voluptuous indolence, and his lenity to the vileſt ruffians. He repreſented his brother as deſerving of the reprobation of Heaven, for having refuſed the crown of Jeruſalem [25]. He accuſed him of pride and ferocity,

24. Ann. Waverl. p. 144.—Hen. Huntingd. lib. vii.

25. If the ſpeech aſcribed to Henry on this occaſion by Matthew Paris, or rather by Roger de Wendover, (from whom that author borrowed

ferocity, and of an arrogant contempt for the Engliſh nation. After dwelling on Robert's imperfections, he attracted the attention of his hearers to the popular *traits* of his own character and conduct. He profeſſed a warm regard for the liberties of his people, and an inflexible determination to treat them with a paternal affection. He recalled to their remembrance the charter granted by him for the preſervation of their privileges, which, he ſaid, he was ready to confirm by additional ſanctions. He had no doubt of the concurrence of his ſubjects in his wiſhes to relieve the Normans from oppreſſion, and was convinced that he might depend on their exertions for ſo laudable a purpoſe. He then adverted to the menaces which the duke had lately uttered againſt him and his people; and by thus appealing to their pride, endeavoured to rouſe the reſentment of his auditors. By theſe and other artful obſervations, which he enforced with the moſt inſinuating addreſs, he prevailed on the aſſembly to aſſent to his ſcheme for the reduction of Normandy, and obtained ample ſupplies for the proſecution of that deſign. When he had completed his preparations, he A. D. 1106.

borrowed the earlier part of his hiſtory), be authentic, it was generally believed in England, that, on the reduction of Jeruſalem in 1099, the cruſards had offered the government of that city and territory to the duke of Normandy, whoſe abilities in war had been ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed in that as well as in the preceding campaigns of the firſt cruſade. This offer, and the duke's refuſal, are alſo ſtated by ſeveral of our old hiſtorians; but, as no mention of the circumſtance occurs in the writings of any of thoſe who were preſent in Paleſtine at the time, we may perhaps juſtly conſider it as the invention of ſome of the duke's countrymen, who, reflecting that his diſtinguiſhed proweſs merited ſuch a compliment from his aſſociates in the cruſade, propagated this report for the honor of Normandy; and hence aroſe it's currency in England. The ſuperſtition of the monkiſh writers induced them to attribute the ſubſequent misfortunes of Robert to his refuſal of ſerving God in the government of the holy city.

A. D. 1106. embarked for the continent in an advanced ſtate of the ſummer; and being reinforced on his arrival by his Norman partiſans, he commenced the campaign with the ſiege of Tenerchebrai, a fortreſs belonging to the earl of Mortagne. This nobleman having applied to the duke for aſſiſtance, Robert, who was no longer doubtful of the extent of his brother's views, reſolved to riſque a general engagement. Having aſſembled all the military ſtrength which his declining intereſt could procure, he ſent a meſſage to the king, requiring him to raiſe the ſiege. Henry refuſed to deſiſt; but, that he might not ſeem unwilling to agree to an accommodation, he conſented to ſheath his ſword on condition of the duke's ceding to him one half of Normandy, and permitting him to govern the whole; while, in return for this gratification, the king would allow him a conſiderable annuity. Theſe inſidious propoſals were indignantly rejected by Robert; and the two brothers prepared to decide their diſpute by an immediate battle. The Norman prince divided his army into three bodies; the van being commanded by the earl of Mortagne, the centre by the duke himſelf, and the rear by Robert de Beleſme. The royal hoſt was more numerous than that of the duke[26]; for Henry, to a great force which he had brought with him from England, had added a large number of continental mercenaries, and had received copious ſupplies of feudal vaſſals from moſt of the barons of the duchy. He himſelf, accompanied by the earl of Meulant, took his ſtation at the head of the central body. The count of Maine commanded his cavalry; Ralph, a nobleman of Bayeux, led the van; and William de Warrenne, earl of Surry, conducted the rear. Sept. 28. Robert's advanced body began the conflict by a fierce attack on the van of the royaliſts, by which

26. Hen. Huntingd. lib. vii.—Chron. T. Wikes, edit. Gale, p. 25.

the

the latter were at length thrown into diſorder. The duke, preſſing forward to engage, aſſailed the king's diviſion with ſuch impetuoſity, and proſecuted the charge with ſuch well-directed valor, that Henry was on the point of giving way with his main body, had not the brave Helie poured upon the duke's flank with his cavalry, and thus afforded the king an opportunity of rallying. Robert de Beleſme ſeems to have been guilty of treachery on this occaſion; for, inſtead of aſſiſting the duke againſt the furious aſſault of the count of Maine, he fled with his forces from the ſcene of battle. The utmoſt efforts of the duke's heroiſm were unable to prevent the ill conſequences of this deſertion. The *impetus* of the royal army now bore down all oppoſition; and a complete victory, by which the fate of Normandy was decided, attended the arms of Henry, who had the good fortune to find his brother and the earl of Mortagne among the priſoners [27]. The king, attended by the captive prince, made a progreſs through the Norman territories, and received the ſurrender of the various towns and caſtles, Robert himſelf being employed in the ignominious taſk of ordering his ſubjects to ſubmit to the conqueror. The duke and the earl were then ſent to England under a ſtrong guard, and confined in different fortreſſes. The depoſed prince lingered near twenty-eight years in captivity, and died [28] in

A. D. 1106.

27. Chron. Sax. p. 214.—Hunt. lib. vii.—Ord. Vital. lib. xi.—In a letter from Henry himſelf to archbiſhop Anſelm, inſerted in Eadmer's hiſtory, the priſoners are ſaid to amount to 10,000 infantry, and 400 cavalry; but this account ſeems to be exaggerated.

28. In the year 1134. Ann. Waverl. p. 151.—Matth. Par. p. 70.—The aſſertion of Paris, that the duke, after an ineffectual attempt to eſcape, was deprived of his ſight by his brother's order, deſerves little credit, as no cruelty of that kind is mentioned by any of the hiſtorians who wrote either in the reign of Henry I. or Stephen, and who were much more likely to have been acquainted with it than Paris, (or his author Wendover) who flouriſhed at a later period. The

A. D. 1106. in the caſtle of Cardiff, when he had exceeded the eightieth year of his age.

Such was the ſevere fate which the unfeeling policy of a brother inflicted on Robert duke of Normandy[29]; a prince who inherited all the valor of his great anceſtor Rollo, and who added, to his inherent courage, a profound knowledge of the art of war, according to the practice of the times in which he flouriſhed. His natural capacity was far from being contemptible; and he poſſeſſed a fund of eloquence and vivacity. He was gay and prodigal in his perſonal expences, and immoderately laviſh in his bounties to his friends. The principal cauſe of his ruin was his imprudent relaxation of the reins of government; a fault which he carried to ſuch an exceſs, as to render the condition of his ſubjects more miſerable than if he had ruled them with all the rigor of a deſpot; for the number of petty tyrants who were foſtered by his lenity of temper, could not but produce the moſt flagrant and general oppreſſion. Though he was capable of giving judicious advice in the affairs of others, he had not the fortitude of mind which was neceſſary to apply it to the purpoſes of his own government. Upon the whole, he was an extraordinary compound of animal courage and political weakneſs; and, as his heart was too tender and humane to enforce even that moderate ſtrictneſs of adminiſtration

ſame writer, ſpeaking of the duke's death, relates an improbable anecdote of his ſtarving himſelf, through an exceſs of pride and vexation at his brother's having ſent him a robe with one of the ſeams ripped up.—With reſpect to the treatment which Robert received during his confinement, we are aſſured by Malmſbury, that he was gratified with an elegant table, and even indulged with the occaſional company of buffoons, that the *ennui* of ſolitude might be diverted.

29. The epithet or ſurname of *Curt-hoſe*, derived from the ſhortneſs of his ſtature, was given to this prince by his cotemporaries. *William of Malmſbury.*

which

which is at all times neceſſary for the peace of the community, but is more particularly requiſite in a licentious age, his greateſt advocates muſt admit, that he was abſolutely unqualified to exerciſe, with dignity or effect, the functions of ſovereign power. A.D. 1106.

Among the priſoners taken in the battle of Tenerchebrai, was Edgar Atheling, who, after he had placed his nephew Edgar on the Scottiſh throne, had ſet out for Paleſtine with a numerous body of cruſards. Here he had met with duke Robert, from whom he had before received ſome marks of favor. He had aſſiſted Baldwin, the Chriſtian king of Jeruſalem, againſt the Mohammedans; and, on his return to Europe, had principally reſided at the court of his Norman patron, under whom he had ſerved in the late engagement. Henry immediately gave him his liberty [30], as he had no reaſon to dread the competition of a prince who, though not deficient in courage, was remarkable for his mental imbecility, and had long abandoned every idea of aſſerting his right to the crown of his anceſtors.

In the caſtle of Falaiſe the king found William, the only ſon of duke Robert, whoſe age did not exceed five years. Unwilling to ſacrifice the princely infant to his jealouſy, he committed him to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had been inveſted by the duke with the county of Arques, and had received his natural daughter in marriage. He then entered into a compromiſe with Robert de Beleſme, who, on reſtoring the lands of the biſhopric of Seez, and other eſtates which he had lately procured either by force or by the duke's grant, was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of his hereditary lands in the duchy [31].

30. Ann. Waverl. p. 144.—He lived many years afterwards in England, in the obſcurity of rural retirement.

31. Ord. Vital. lib. xi.

A. D. 1106. The ſtates of Normandy being ſummoned to meet at Liſieux, Henry was acknowledged as their ſovereign; and, in that capacity, he proceeded to enact ſuch regulations as appeared to be neceſſary for the reſtoration of tranquillity and order. He confirmed the laws which had been promulgated by his father; revoked the profuſe grants of his brother, by which the ducal revenues had been enormouſly diminiſhed; commanded the demolition of the caſtles which had been erected ſince the death of the Conqueror; ordered the immediate reparation of ſuch injuries as could be clearly proved; and gave peremptory injunctions for a rigorous execution of the laws againſt depredation and violence. After reſiding ſome months in the duchy, A. D. 1107. to ſettle the peace of that lately diſtracted territory, he returned to his Engliſh dominions.

Though Henry was thus fortunate in temporal affairs, he was not equally proſperous in the government of the church. The power of the ſupreme pontiff was now ſo well eſtabliſhed, and the thunders of excommunication had become ſo formidable, by weakening and disjointing the authority of a prince in that ſuperſtitious age, when the papal decrees were received with blind ſubmiſſion, that this able and ſpirited prince condeſcended to compromiſe the diſpute between him and the pope on the ſubject of homage and inveſtiture, and even to reſign a branch of the prerogative enjoyed by his predeceſſors. He was induced to make this conceſſion by the fear of being involved in the ſentence of excommunication, which had already been fulminated againſt the earl of Meulant, and other miniſters who had adviſed the king to give inveſtiture to prelates, in repugnance to the edict of a general council. To avoid a ſimilar ſentence which archbiſhop Anſelm was preparing, by the pope's direction, to iſſue againſt him, he

he ſtrenuouſly labored to effect an accommodation with his holineſs, who at length allowed him to retain that part of his prerogative which conſiſted in exacting homage from his biſhops and abbots, on condition of his relinquiſhing the privilege of inveſting them with the paſtoral ſtaff and ring. Anſelm, who, for his refractory ſpirit, had been prohibited from returning to his ſee after his late journey to Rome, was now reſtored to the primacy; and, in a great council aſſembled at London, a ſtatute conformable to the late compromiſe was enacted [32]. A. D. 1107.

In the following year, Henry endeavoured to remedy ſome civil grievances which had excited the murmurs of the nation. Whenever a royal progreſs was made into any of the counties, the king and his retinue were ſupplied with proviſions and carriages by the tenants of the crown lands; and, when they paſſed through ſuch parts as were not comprehended among the demeſnes of the crown, they purchaſed whatever they required at a low price. In the reign of William Rufus, this practice of purveyance had been the ſource of much oppreſſion: wherever the king appeared, the domeſtics of the court ſeiſed without diſtinction every thing which came in their way, treated the people with all the inſolent tyranny of office, ſold or deſtroyed what they could not conſume, and rendered the whole country through which they paſſed a ſcene of devaſtation, outrage, and riot. Theſe diſorders had been ſo frequent, that many of the inhabitants of thoſe parts in which the ſovereign was expected, were accuſtomed to make their eſcape into the woods with whatever they could conveniently carry off; and the report of the royal approach produced a conſternation nearly equal to that which would have ariſen from the proxi- A. D. 1108.

32. Eadm. lib. iv.

A. D. 1108. mity of an invading army. As the royal attendants had continued to act with equal injuſtice in the preſent reign, Henry reſolved to make ſome compenſation to his ſubjects for his late grievous exactions in the proſecution of his attempts on Normandy, by repreſſing the enormous abuſes which had accompanied his occaſional progreſſes. He iſſued a proclamation, fixing the quantity of ſupplies which the king's ſervants ſhould take, and the price which ſhould be paid in return; and inflicting, on all who ſhould offend in the inſtances above-mentioned, either the privation of ſight, or the amputation of limbs. Theſe puniſhments being enforced with great rigor, the continuance of the evil was effectually ſtopped throughout this reign. Another grievance which Henry redreſſed about the ſame time, was the adulteration of the current coin, which had become extremely frequent. To check this practice, he ordained that ſuch as counterfeited the coin ſhould be puniſhed with the loſs of their ſight, as well as of their virility [33].

The king now turned his attention to the affairs of the continent, and the concerns of his new dominions. He began to reflect, that his nephew William might probably, in the progreſs of adoleſcence, find ſome friendly or intereſted prince ready to aſſiſt him in revenging his father's ſufferings, and in recovering his paternal inheritance. Lewis the Groſs having ſucceeded to the crown of France, on the death of the firſt Philip, Henry was apprehenſive that this monarch, from motives of obvious policy, might endeavour to wreſt the Norman duchy from it's new poſſeſſor, in favor of the infant William. Conceiving, therefore, a deſire of getting the young prince into his power, he paſſed over to the continent, and commiſſioned Robert

33. Eadm. lib. iv.

do

de Beauchamp to repair, with a party of cavalry, to the caſtle of St. Saen, (from which Helie was then abſent), and ſeiſe the innocent object of royal jealouſy. This ſcheme was rendered abortive by the faithful vigilance of Helie's ſervants, who carried off young William while he was aſleep, and delivered him into the hands of his guardian. The king, mortified at the ill ſucceſs of this project, confiſcated the eſtates of Helie; in conſequence of which, that nobleman was reduced to the neceſſity of wandering from the territories of one prince to thoſe of another, accompanied by his pupil, whoſe intereſts he promoted with the moſt cordial eagerneſs [34]. A. D. 1108.

During Henry's continuance in Normandy, he was involved in hoſtilities with the French king, whom he had provoked by ſeiſing Giſors, a well-fortified town on the frontiers of the duchy, contrary to a convention between the two princes, importing that this place ſhould be in the poſſeſſion of a third perſon, ſubject to neither of the ſovereigns. Lewis, enraged at the perfidy of the king of England, challenged him to a ſingle combat, which Henry thought proper to decline. A war now enſued, in which the dukes of Burgundy and Guienne, and Theobald earl of Blois, the nephew of Henry, ſupported that monarch's cauſe againſt Lewis; while the latter was aſſiſted by Robert earl of Flanders, who had returned from the Holy Land with a high reputation for heroic achievements. Henry did not at firſt perſonally engage in this war, which was carried on with various ſucceſs between his allies and the king of France; but, when ſome detachments of the enemy had invaded Normandy, he marched againſt them, and put them to the rout. A peace was then concluded, by which Giſors was ceded to Henry, and an indemnity granted to thoſe A. D. 1109.

34. Ord. Vital. lib. xi.

vaſſals

A. D. 1109. vaſſals of France who had joined him againſt their feudal lord [35].

On his return to England, he received a ſplendid embaſſy from the emperor Henry V. demanding in marriage his daughter Matilda or Maud, who was then about ſeven years of age. The king treated the imperial deputies with great courteſy and magnificence, and acceded to their ſovereign's requeſt. The nuptial treaty being concluded, the young princeſs was ſent over to

A. D. 1110. the emperor in the ſucceeding year, with a handſome portion, produced by an impoſt of three ſhillings on every hide of land throughout the kingdom [36]. As, by the

35. Ord. Vital. lib. xii.—Vita Lud. Gr. a Sugero Abb.

36. Hen. Huntingd. lib. vii.—Chron. Sax.—Though a ſhilling was the 48th part of a Saxon pound, it began to be eſtimated, in the Anglo-Norman times, in the ſame proportion which it now bears to a pound; and, as the pound continued, in the Norman reigns, at the ſame rate which had prevailed in the time of the Saxon kings, a ſhilling, which, if it's original proportion to a pound had remained unaltered, would have conſiſted of only five Saxon pence, and have been inferior in weight to fifteen pence of our preſent ſilver, became, in the reigns of the Conqueror and his ſucceſſors, nearly equal in weight to three ſhillings of modern coin. If, therefore, we calculate the number of hides at about 280,000, the portion of Henry's daughter amounted to 42,000 pounds, which being almoſt of the ſame *weight* with 126,000 modern pounds, muſt, on the ſmalleſt computation that has been adopted in treating of the difference in the *value* of money between thoſe times and the preſent, have been equivalent to 630,000 of our pounds; and, according to the eſtimate of other writers who do not ſeem very extravagant in their calculations, muſt have been little inferior in efficacy to a million.—Mr. Hume has cenſured the *heedleſſneſs* of Brady and Tyrrel for making Matilda's dowry equivalent to above 800,000 of our pounds; whereas (ſays he) "it could not exceed 135,000. Five "hides, ſometimes leſs, made a knight's fee, of which there were about "60,000 in England, conſequently near 300,000 hides; and, at the "rate of 3*s.* a hide, the ſum would amount to 45,000 pounds, or "135,000 of our preſent money." But the latter ſum, according to his own calculation in other parts of his hiſtory, hardly exceeds the weight

the cuſtoms of the feudal law, the king was entitled to an extraordinary ſubſidy from his vaſſals, for the marriage of his eldeſt daughter, the people would not have been inclined to complain of a moderate tax, levied on ſo popular an occaſion; but an impoſition ſo exorbitant muſt have been ſeverely felt, after the oppreſſive exactions which they had endured for the gratification of Henry's deſire of dominion. A. D. 1110.

The king's continental dominions appearing to him to require his preſence, he again croſſed the channel, and renewed the war with the French monarch, who had encouraged Fulk count of Anjou in his views of oppoſition. Fulk having, on the death of Helie de la Flêche [37], taken poſſeſſion of the county of Maine, the new duke of Normandy required him to hold that province as a fief of the duchy. The count not only refuſed to comply with this demand, but reſolved to act as the aſſertor of young William's claim to the dukedom. To this prince he had promiſed his daughter Sibylla in marriage; and he now diſplayed his zeal in the cauſe of his intended ſon-in-law, by an invaſion of Normandy. The earl of Blois, having been prompt- A. D. 1111.

weight of 45,000 pounds of ancient money, without regard to the difference in value, which Brady and Tyrrel have evidently included in their eſtimate. It ſeems ſurpriſing, that Mr. Hume ſhould reprehend the inaccuracy of thoſe hiſtorians, as having exorbitantly increaſed the value of the dowry in queſtion, when the fact is, that their computation renders it *much leſs* than their cenſor would have made it, in compliance with his own eſtimate of the difference of pecuniary value, as ſtated on more than one occaſion.

37. Huntingdon, and the author of the Annals of Waverley, aſſert, that Henry put Helie de la Flêche to death, for having joined his enemies. But this account is not corroborated by other writers, who are more accurate with reſpect to the affairs of the continent; and it is rendered improbable by the attachment which Henry profeſſed for that gallant nobleman, as well as by the ſignal ſervice which he had performed for the king in the deciſive battle of Tenerchebrai.

ed

A. D. 1111. ed by his uncle to revolt from Lewis, gave a diverſion to the arms of that prince, who loſt his brave ally, the earl of Flanders, in an engagement with his rebellious vaſſal. The events of this petty war being unworthy of detail, it will ſuffice to obſerve, that, after it had continued for one year, Robert de Beleſme, who had

A. D. 1112. taken part againſt Henry, was ſent by Lewis to mediate a peace with his royal antagoniſt. Henry was ſo exaſperated at the revolt of this reſtleſs baron, that, inſtead of treating him with that reſpect which he claimed as the repreſentative of a ſovereign prince, he ordered him to be arreſted as a rebel, and condemned him, with the aſſent of the juſticiaries of his court, to perpetual confinement [38]. The fate of this nobleman excited little compaſſion, as he was arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and perfidious. His impriſonment was followed by the ſiege of Alençon, one of his fortreſſes, which ſoon ſurrendered to the Engliſh monarch. Some other advantages being gained by Henry, the count of Anjou gladly liſtened to the propoſitions made by that prince, who, eager to detach Fulk from his ſupport of young William's intereſts, tempted him with the offer of marrying his own ſon of the ſame name to a daugh-

A. D. 1113. ter of the count. A treaty being concluded between them, the count was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Maine, on condition of his holding it of the ſovereign of Normandy in feudal tenure; and it was ſtipulated, that Matilda, the eldeſt daughter of the Anjevin prince, ſhould be given in marriage to Henry's heir. This agreement depriving duke Robert's ſon of that protection which he had lately received at the court of Anjou, he was conducted by his guardian into the territories of Baldwin, the new earl of Flanders,

38. Ord. Vital. lib. xii.—Hoved. p. 271.

by

by whom he was treated with unequivocal marks of favor and friendſhip. The defection of Fulk induced the king of France to negotiate a peace with Henry, who, far from giving ſatisfaction to Lewis for the affront which he had offered him in the ſeiſure of his ambaſſador, required him to give up the ſtrong fortreſs of Beleſme, ſituated in the French dominions, and belonging to the captive earl. Lewis not only acceded to this demand, but permitted the count of Bretagne to transfer his homage to Henry, as duke of Normandy. Having demoliſhed the caſtle of Beleſme, Henry returned to England, pleaſed with the advantageous termination of the war [39]. A. D. 1113.

For the three following years, his dominions remained, for the moſt part, in a tranquil ſtate; and nothing worthy of recital occurs in the records of this interval, except an expedition which he perſonally undertook againſt the Welſh, to repreſs their incurſions on his frontiers. He had before tranſplanted into South-Wales a body of Flemings, who, having emigrated from their native country in conſequence of the inundation of a long tract of coaſt, had been ſtationed by Rufus in Cumberland, at the time of his rebuilding Carliſle. From this county they were removed by Henry into Pembrokeſhire [40], where they proved conſtant thorns in the ſides of the Welſh, who in vain endeavoured to exterminate them. The campaign now made in Wales by Henry, who was accompanied by Alexander king of Scotland, reſtored for a time the peace of the borders; but it was not ſufficiently deciſive to ſecure a long continuance of pacific diſpoſition. A. D. 1114.

39. Ord. Vital. lib. xii.

40. This removal took place in the year 1111, after they had been ſettled near twenty years in Cumberland.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Henry is involved in a new war on the continent.—He defeats the king of France at Brenneville.—He loſes his only legitimate ſon William, and two of his natural children, by ſhipwreck.—His nephew William excites a revolt againſt him in Normandy;—but it fails of ſucceſs.—He is relieved, by that prince's death, from the fears of further competition.—He ſtrenuouſly endeavours to ſecure to his daughter Matilda the ſucceſſion to his dominions.—His death and character.

A. D. 1116. THE good fortune which had hitherto attended the ambitious projects of Henry, did not remove his jealous apprehenſions of the future competition of the ſon of Robert. That prince was now of the age of fifteen; and had already given ſuch indications of a pregnant capacity and an aſpiring genius, as alarmed the fears of his uncle, who endeavoured to allure him into his power, by the offer of three Engliſh earldoms [1]: but he was too prudent to commit himſelf into the hands of one who had ſo frequently diſregarded the obligations of honor, and too high-ſpirited to receive favors from a prince who had treated his father with unnatural cruelty, and ſtill with-held from him the benefit of liberty.

The aſſiſtance afforded by Henry to his nephew the earl of Blois, in a freſh revolt which that nobleman now kindled againſt his Gallic ſovereign, formed a pretence for the open interpoſition of Lewis in behalf of the lawful heir of Normandy. After demanding the releaſe of his vaſſal, duke Robert, he declared war againſt

1. Ord. Vital. lib. xii.

Henry;

Henry; and, having entered into a league with the earl of Flanders and his former ally Fulk, who reſented the delay of his daughter's marriage with the ſon of the king of England, he invaded the Norman duchy, where he was joined by many of the principal nobility. This campaign being conſumed in devaſtation and ſkirmiſh, no action of importance occurred to diſtinguiſh it from the ordinary courſe of petty hoſtility. A. D. 1116.

For the maintenance of this war, Henry renewed thoſe immoderate taxations with which he had frequently oppreſſed his people. He took into his ſervice a number of mercenaries, whom the count of Bretagne permitted him to levy in his dominions. He raiſed a ſtrong army of his Engliſh ſubjects, and endeavoured to diſſolve, both by policy and force, the formidable confederacy by which he was attacked. But he met with ill ſucceſs in his firſt efforts; and had the mortification to ſee the vicinity of his Norman capital furiouſly ravaged by the earl of Flanders; which ſo enraged him, that he ſent a meſſage to that prince, purporting that he would deſolate his country as far as Bruges, if he did not immediately deſiſt from his incurſions. Baldwin, not intimidated by this menace, returned for anſwer, that he would render it unneceſſary for Henry to undertake ſo long a journey, by favoring him with a viſit at Rouën. Advancing towards the walls of that city, he challenged the king to a battle; but the prudence of Henry prevented him from accepting the offer of an engagement which he did not think himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to attempt with hopes of ſucceſs, as he had weakened his force by the detachments which he had been obliged to ſend out againſt his various enemies, who, inſtead of uniting, haraſſed different quarters of the duchy in ſeparate bodies, A. D. 1117.

A. D. 1117. bodies, and retired at the commencement of winter without any general action [2].

A. D. 1118. The next campaign was more proſperous to Henry, as his moſt active adverſary, the earl of Flanders, was ſo ſeverely wounded in a ſkirmiſh with the ſubſidiary Bretons, that he was diſabled for the ſervice of the field; and returning to his own territories, he rendered his wound mortal by his intemperance. Henry, who was related to him by his mother Matilda, ſent him his own phyſician as ſoon as he heard of his danger; an act of humanity which did not ſucceed in reſtoring the object of it [3].

The calamities which the duchy ſuffered by this war, did not ſo much affect the feelings of Henry, as the open defection of many of his barons, and the uncertain fidelity of others. The intrigues of his enemies had diſſeminated ſuch a ſpirit of diſaffection among his ſubjects, that he was almoſt unwilling to repoſe confidence in any perſon. His ſuſpicions were increaſed by a plot which he diſcovered to have been formed againſt his life by ſome of the officers of his bed-chamber. This conſpiracy rendered him ſo apprehenſive of aſſaſſination, that, during the continuance of theſe troubles, he conſtantly kept a ſword and ſhield by his bed-ſide, and ſtationed near his apartment a conſiderable number of armed domeſtics of experienced honor, for the nocturnal ſecurity of his perſon [4].

Among the nobles who revolted from Henry, was Euſtace earl of Breteuil, who had married Juliana, a natural daughter of the king, and had been aſſiſted by him in uſurping that earldom from the lawful heir of the laſt occupant. Having lately demanded of Henry a caſtle which had been formerly in the

2. Ord. Vital. lib. xii. 3. Gul. Malmſb. lib. v.
4. Sug. Vit. Ludov. Gr.

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of his family, he was requeſted to wait till the cloſe of the war; and the king even gave him the governor's ſon as a hoſtage for the delivery of the fortreſs into his hands on the return of peace, requiring at the ſame time the ſurrender of Euſtace's two daughters by way of ſecurity for the father's fidelity to his ſovereign. The earl, being inſtigated by the adherents of young William to ſupport his claim to the duchy, reſolved to join Henry's opponents; and he had no ſooner formed this determination, than he put out the eyes of his hoſtage, and ſent him back, thus cruelly injured, to his father. The governor having complained to Henry of this unprovoked inhumanity, the king delivered to him the two female hoſtages (his own grand-daughters), and gave him permiſſion to wreak his vengeance on them. They were immediately deprived of their ſight, and their faces otherwiſe diſfigured, by the vindictive brutality of the governor, whoſe conduct was applauded by his rigorous maſter. This anecdote tends to diſplay the ſternneſs of Henry's character, and his punctilious regard to what he conſidered as the demands of juſtice; and it teſtifies his want of humane feelings, in retaliating on two innocent virgins, whoſe veins were warmed with his own blood, the unmanly cruelty which had been perpetrated by their father. Juliana, their mother, was ſo exaſperated at the behaviour of Henry on this occaſion, that, when he appeared before the caſtle of Breteuil, which ſhe held for the rebellious earl, ſhe attempted, under the maſk of a conference, to commit the united crimes of parricide and treaſon, by aiming an arrow at his breaſt, which he fortunately eſcaped. He treated her attempt as the conſequence of frantic grief; and, inſtead of ſubjecting her to the ſeverity of juſtice, he contented himſelf with expoſing her to a temporary A. D. 1118.

A. D. 1118. disgrace, by obliging her to wade through the moat of the castle, in the sight of his army; after which he sent her to her husband [5].

The endeavours of Henry to disunite the confederacy which had been formed against him, were promoted by the death of Baldwin, and were now crowned by the marriage of his son William to the daughter of the count of Anjou, by which that warlike prince was detached from the number of his enemies, and the reversion of Maine was settled on the bridegroom [6]. By liberal promises, he brought back some of his rebel barons to their allegiance; and his hopes of terminating the war by an honorable peace seemed to approach towards completion.

A. D. 1119.

The king of France, though abandoned by the Flemings and Anjevins, still prosecuted the war against Henry, and renewed his inroads into Normandy, accompanied by the son of Robert, who commanded a body of his patron's forces. Henry being then at Rouen, in a state of inaction, Lewis carried his devastations into the heart of the Vexin Normand. Deeming it a point of prudence to suffer the French to exhaust their impetuosity in idle ravage, that he might attack them when the ardor of so volatile a people was cooled, Henry did not attempt to oppose them till he found that they presumed so much on his timidity as to venture within a few miles of Rouen. He then resolved to convince them that they had formed too precipitate an opinion with regard to his courage; and, assembling his army, advanced to meet the invaders. He came up with them in the plain of Brenneville near Andeli; and the eagerness of the two kings for action displayed itself in an immediate conflict, which was sustained on each side by cavalry alone.

5. Ord. Vital. lib. xii. 6. Gul. Malmsb. lib. v.

The

The young Norman prince encountered Henry's van with such fury, that he soon compelled them to retreat; but he was repulsed in his turn by the second line, headed by his uncle in person, who, in the course of the engagement, narrowly escaped destruction; for Crispin, a Norman knight, struck him twice on the head with his sabre in so violent a manner, that, if his helmet had not been admirably tempered, he would have fallen a victim to the force of the blows. As soon as he had recovered himself from the shock, he beat his assailant to the ground, who was instantly taken prisoner by one of the king's attendants. The rear of his army, consisting of a large body of infantry, now proceeded to the attack; but the French, unwilling to risque a continuance of the battle, fled from the field in great disorder[7]. Their sovereign, finding it impracticable to rally them, endeavoured to secure his own escape, which he did not accomplish without difficulty. Arriving at Andeli, he re-assembled the fugitives; and was rejoiced to find, that, though some of his principal nobles, and many of his knights, had been taken, a very small proportion of his troops had lost their lives[8]. This circumstance may partly be ascribed to the heavy armour then usually worn, and partly to the desire of accumulating prisoners; for, as the conflict was confined to noblemen and knights, the combatants were more eager to make captives by whose ransom they might profit, than to deprive their adversaries of life. Lewis and the Norman prince having been unhorsed in the action, Henry complimented each of them with the return of his respective charger; and, to this politeness of behaviour, he added the dismission of many of his prisoners.

A. D. 1119.

Aug. 20.

7. Hen. Huntingd. lib. vii.—Dicet. Hist.

8. Vitalis affirms, that only three were killed on this occasion.

A. D. 1119. As ſoon as Lewis had received a reinforcement, he ſent a herald to the king of England, with the propoſal of another engagement; but Henry declined the offer, and employed the remainder of the campaign in reducing to obedience ſuch of his barons as he had before been unable to reclaim. The French king, in the mean time, took Chartres from the earl of Blois, and enforced the ſurrender of the ſtrong caſtle of Ivry. During theſe hoſtilities, pope Caliſtus II. repaired to Rheims, to hold a council in that city; and Lewis, perceiving the ſmall probability of conquering Normandy for young William, reſolved to intereſt the church in behalf of that prince. He conducted the youth to the place of meeting, and harangued the pope and the aſſembly on the injuſtice committed by Henry, in the depoſition and impriſonment of his elder brothor, whom he had defrauded of a kingdom, and deprived of a duchy. He affirmed, that, as the captive duke, for his eminent ſervices in the capacity of a cruſard, was entitled to the gratitude and protection of the holy ſee, it was incumbent on the pontiff to exert his authority for the reſtitution of Normandy to the rightful heir, by the expulſion of a perfidious uſurper. The oration of Lewis produced no definitive reſolution, though the aſſembly ſeemed inclined to eſpouſe the cauſe which that monarch had ſo ſtrongly recommended. His holineſs, ſoon after, went to Giſors, to confer with Henry on the ſubject; but this prince, when he had been informed of the tranſactions of the council, had diſtributed preſents with ſuch dexterity among the confidential friends of Caliſtus, who was alſo himſelf a participator of theſe liberalities [9], that the pontiff acquieſced in Henry's vindication of his conduct, and even conſented to grant him a confirma-

9. Gul. Malmſb. lib. v.

tion

tion of all the prerogatives which his father had enjoyed [10]. Thus did Henry's eloquence, aided by seasonable corruption, divert the pope from supporting the interests of Robert; and the privilege of investiture, for which he had so long contended, and which he had been obliged to surrender to the obstinacy of Paschal, was now recovered from the time-serving facility of Calistus. A. D. 1119.

To evince his desire of restoring peace, the pope offered himself as a mediator between the kings of France and England; and, as both of them had reason to be weary of the war, they agreed to commence a negotiation, which ended in a pacific treaty. The conditions of peace were, that whatever places had been taken during the war, should be reciprocally restored; that all the remaining prisoners should be released without ransom; and that Henry's son William should be invested by the king of France with the duchy of Normandy, for which he should do the customary homage to that crown, as his father, from an absurd pride which even the high spirit of the Conqueror and of Rufus had not cherished in this particular, had refused to perform it [11]. The rebellious nobles of the duchy were comprehended in this accommodation; but no stipulations were made in favor of Robert's son, though Lewis continued to honor him with his friendship and protection. A. D. 1120.

The eagerness of Henry to secure the succession of his son to the regal as well as ducal crown, had induced him, some years before this period, to command all the barons and freemen, both of England and Normandy, to do homage and swear fealty to that young prince, as heir apparent to the dominions of his father. He now ex-

10. Eadm. p. 125.—Sim. Dunelm. col. 241.
11. Gul. Malmsb. lib. v.—Sug. Vit. Lud. Gr.—Ord. Vital.

A. D. 1120. acted a renewal of those ceremonies from the nobility of the duchy; and, having re-established the tranquillity of that country, he prepared for his return to England, from which he had been absent above four
Nov. 26. years. Embarking at Barfleur with a train of barons, he arrived in this kingdom on the following morning; but a very unfortunate accident prevented him from ever more seeing that son for whose life and prosperity he had always been extremely anxious. The prince, who was detained after his father's departure, set sail at the close of day with a numerous company of youthful nobles. The mariners of his ship, having indulged themselves, before they sailed, in immoderate drinking, were too disordered to pay a proper attention to the discharge of their duty; and William and his companions desiring them to use their efforts to overtake the king, they crowded all the sail they could carry; but the ship had not proceeded far, when the carelessness of the crew drove her against a rock. The sudden violence of the shock greatly shattered the vessel, and threw the wretched passengers into the utmost consternation. The ship's boat being brought out, the prince instantly passed into it, with some of his comrades of high rank; and he might have accomplished his preservation, as the weather was not in the least tempestuous, had not the mournful shrieks of the countess of Perche, one of Henry's natural daughters, interested his fraternal sensibility, and called forth his humane exertions. He ordered the boat to be rowed back to the ship, for the reception of the young countess; but it had no sooner approached, than the imminence of the danger impelled such a number of persons into it, that it immediately sunk, to the destruction of all who were on board. Those who remained in the ship were speedily involved in the same calamity, except

cept a hardy butcher of Rouen, who, clinging to the maſt when the veſſel was foundering, ſtruggled all night againſt a watery death, and was ſaved by ſome fiſhermen in the morning. Beſides the prince and his ſiſter, Richard, a natural ſon of the king, Richard earl of Cheſter, his counteſs, who was Henry's niece, a nephew of the emperor Henry V. and many other perſons of diſtinction, periſhed by this wreck. The whole loſs amounted to near 250 individuals, eighteen of whom were ladies of rank, fifty were ſeamen, and the reſt were either noblemen or knights, and their attendants[12]. A. D. 1120.

This cataſtrophe had ſo violent an effect on the frame of Henry, that he fainted on the firſt communication of the intelligence. No former misfortune had ever afflicted him with ſuch ſenſible emotion. As he had no other legitimate ſon, he apprehended a train of evils that might ariſe from the uncertainty of the ſucceſſion, and foreſaw an interruption of the peace of his favorite duchy, which he had lately been ſo attentive to ſecure. When the vehemence of his grief had ſubſided, he rewarded thoſe who had faithfully ſerved him in the late war, by diſtributing among them the numerous offices which had been vacated by the fatal conſequences of the ſhipwreck, as well as the eſtates which had loſt both their poſſeſſors and heirs; and by beſtowing on them the widows and daughters of the deceaſed nobles. He then turned his thoughts to the reparation of the breach which the death of his ſon had made in the ſucceſſion; and, as he had loſt his queen Matilda above two years before, he now reſolved to try the experiment of a ſecond

12. Sim. Dunelm. col. 242. — Gul. Malmſb. lib. v.—Ord. Vital. lib. xii —Eadm. p. 135.—This calamitous accident was regarded by Henry of Huntingdon, and other ancient writers, as the judgment of Heaven on the ſufferers, for the addiction of the greater part of them to an unnatural vice.

A. D. 1120. marriage, in hopes of procreating another heir, though he was now in his fifty-third year, and may be ſuppoſed to have weakened his prolific powers by his immoderate attachment to promiſcuous venery. Having made choice of Adelina, a lady of diſtinguiſhed beauty, daughter of Godfrey duke of Louvain, and niece to pope Caliſtus, he diſpatched envoys to the continent, to demand her in marriage, and attend her into England. On her landing at Dover, ſhe was received in form by a body of the nobility; and being conducted to Windſor, was united in matrimony with the amorous king, whom, however, ſhe did not gratify with any offspring[13].

A. D. 1121.

The death of the earl of Cheſter, who ſhared the fate of prince William, encouraged the Welſh to make an irruption into that county, in which they committed great ravages. To chaſtiſe theſe troubleſome intruders, and prevent them from extending their devaſtations, the king marched, at the head of a numerous army, into North-Wales, exchanging the ſociety of his young and beautiful bride for the turbulence of a mountainous campaign. In this expedition he expoſed himſelf to much hazard by venturing, with a ſmall part of his force, into a narrow paſs, where the Welſh attacked him from more elevated ground, ſlew ſome of his men, and aimed an arrow at his boſom, which the ſtrength of his corſlet repelled. Finding himſelf in a dangerous ſituation, he propoſed a conference with the enemy, to which they readily agreed, as they were apprehenſive of ruin from the main body of the Engliſh army, then at a ſmall diſtance. Griffith ap Conan, prince of North-Wales, agreed to deliver to Henry ſome of the ſons of his nobility as hoſtages, and to preſent him with a thouſand head of cattle; on the receipt of which, he returned into England[14].

13. Hoved. p. 273.—Ann. Waverl.—Eadm.

14. Hoved.—Gul. Malmſb.—Dr. Powel's Welſh Chron.

The

The premature death of prince William having diſ- A. D. 1121.
ſolved the fealty which had been ſworn to him, the ſubjects of Henry, particularly the Normans, began to think of another ſucceſſor to that monarch; and their attention was naturally turned to the ſon of Robert, as the next male heir to his uncle, in caſe of his ſurviving his impriſoned father. The merit and ſufferings of this young prince had procured him many friends among his countrymen; and the patronage of Lewis the Groſs recommended him to the ſupport of the vaſſals of the French crown. The count of Anjou, who had alternately aſſiſted and deſerted him, returned about this time from Paleſtine, whither he had repaired immediately after the nuptials between his daughter and Henry's ſon; and finding that the princeſs had become a widow, ſent to the Engliſh court to demand not only her perſon, but her dowry, as the marriage, by reaſon of her impuberty, had not been conſummated. The king readily delivered up the lady, but withheld her portion: a conduct which ſo offended the count, that he again embraced the cauſe of Henry's A. D. 1122.
nephew, and renewed his promiſe of giving him the hand of one of his daughters [15].

The intrigues of young William's friends were ſo ſucceſsful as to produce a conſpiracy of many of the barons of Normandy, whoſe object was to deprive Henry of the ſovereignty of that duchy. Walleran earl of Meulant, eldeſt ſon of that earl who had inſinuated himſelf into a high degree of favor under Rufus, and had long ſerved Henry with great judgment and fidelity in the capacity of prime miniſter, was at the head of this plot, though he had been treated by the king with a continuance of that regard and attachment which his father had enjoyed till his death. His bro-

15. Gul. Malmſb. lib. v.—Ord. Vital. lib. xii.

ther

A. D. 1122. ther Robert, Amaury count of Evreux, Hugh de Montfort, and other powerful noblemen, readily joined in the conſpiracy. As they were eager to procure the general concurrence of the Norman barons, that their ſcheme might be in the leſs danger of diſappointment, their efforts for the increaſe of their ſtrength were not ſo ſecret as to eſcape the penetration of

A. D. 1123. Henry, who, paſſing over into Normandy, met with a confirmation of his ſuſpicions, though the conſpirators had not yet ruſhed into arms. His arrival, which ought rather to have checked their ardor, induced them to take the field before they were perfectly prepared; and this circumſtance gave their ſovereign a manifeſt advantage over them. He beſieged the caſtle of Montfort, and ſoon reduced it; and that of Pontaudemer, with other fortreſſes belonging to the revolters, ſubmitted to his arms; but this campaign did not extinguiſh the rebellion, hoſtilities being re-commenced in the following ſpring. Then, however, the war was

A. D. 1124. quickly terminated; for the leaders of the revolt were ſurpriſed on a march, when they were attended with a ſmall party, by William de Tankerville, the king's chamberlain, who attacked them with a much more numerous body of troops, and obtained a complete and almoſt bloodleſs victory. Walleran and his principal aſſociates were taken priſoners; but the count of Evreux, who, having been an active opponent to Henry both in this and the preceding war, dreaded that prince's reſentment, had the addreſs to prevail on William de Grandcour, who had captured him, to reſtore him to his liberty, and even to accompany him into exile. This blow totally cruſhed the hopes of the rebels; and, by the impriſonment of the ringleaders, and the infliction of various kinds of puniſhment on others, though we do not find that any were put to

death, tranquillity was ſoon re-eſtabliſhed throughout the duchy [16]. A. D. 1124.

Fulk, in whoſe honor no confidence could be repoſed, was now induced by the promiſes of Henry to renounce the alliance of his nephew; and that prince's nuptial contract with the count's daughter Sibylla was diſſolved, on the application of the Engliſh monarch, by a papal ſentence, founded on the pretext of conſanguinity, though the parties did not bear a nearer degree of relation to each other, than had exiſted between Henry's ſon and Fulk's eldeſt daughter, whoſe marriage had not been conſidered as liable to the ſmalleſt objection.

The king of France having encouraged the late revolt, Henry was highly exaſperated at his conduct; and, as the emperor cheriſhed a warm reſentment againſt Lewis for having ſided with the court of Rome to his prejudice, during his diſpute with the holy ſee, his father-in-law the king of England endeavoured to rouſe him to active vengeance, promiſing to give him powerful aſſiſtance in a war with France. His imperial majeſty did not require much ſolicitation to engage him in ſuch an attempt; and, having levied a very numerous force, he prepared for an invaſion of the French dominions. Lewis, thus menaced with a formidable attack, exerted all his influence in ſecuring the ſupport of the different members of the Gallic monarchy; and ſuch an union as now appeared of the petty princes who were vaſſals of the French crown, had not been ſeen for ſeveral preceding centuries, all diſcordant intereſts being overwhelmed in the conſideration of the general danger which impended over that kingdom. This harmony ſtruck the deſigns of the emperor and his

16. Ord. Vital. lib. xii. — Ann. Waverl. p. 148. — Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.

Engliſh

A. D. 1124. Engliſh ally with a ſudden abortion: the former made a quick retreat, and the latter relinquiſhed his preparations, rejoiced at the forbearance of Lewis, who, with the immenſe army which he had been enabled to raiſe, might have achieved the ſpeedy conqueſt of the Norman duchy [17].

Henry's nephew and competitor, William, ſtill enjoyed an aſylum in the French court; and, on the diſſolution of his matrimonial contract with Sibylla, Lewis gave him his queen's ſiſter in marriage, with the whole Vexin François for her dowry. The acquiſition of this territory gave the prince an opportunity of making occaſional attempts on Normandy, which were defeated, however, by the vigilance of his uncle [18].

A. D. 1125.

During theſe turmoils on the continent, a great diſcontent prevailed in England, in conſequence of the oppreſſive burthens of perpetual extortion. The miſeries which proceeded from this ſource were accompanied, in the preſent year, with an extraordinary dearth, which was aggravated by the evils ariſing from the circulation of counterfeit coin. Complaints on this head having reached the king, he diſpatched orders from Normandy to Roger biſhop of Saliſbury, chief juſticiary and regent of the kingdom, to puniſh the coiners with exemplary rigor. A great number of theſe criminals were immediately apprehended, and reſpectively condemned to loſe the right hand as well as the diſtinctive marks of virility [19].

While the king was preſerving, by his preſence, the peace of Normandy, his daughter Matilda, having loſt her imperial conſort, returned to his court, in compliance with his requiſition. As ſoon as he was

17. Suger. Vit. Ludov. p. 312, 313. 18. Ord. Vital. lib. xii.
19. Ann. Waverl. p. 149.—Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.

con-

convinced of the improbability of his receiving any increaſe to his family, he had been deſirous of conſtituting her the heireſs of his dominions; but her union with the emperor formed a ſtrong objection to this ſcheme, as it could not be ſuppoſed that the Engliſh nation would quietly ſubmit to the rule of a perſon whoſe marriage with a powerful foreign prince would expoſe the realm to the degradation of becoming a province to a diſtant ſovereignty. This obſtacle being now removed by the deceaſe of her huſband, Henry reſumed his intentions in her favor; and, conducting her to England, he took the earlieſt opportunity of propoſing her to the national council, as his ſucceſſor. Having convoked that aſſembly at London, he pronounced an harangue in ſupport of his daughter's right to the crown, of which, he ſaid, ſhe was the lawful heir, both on the father's and mother's ſide. His great influence over the deliberations of the council procured the ſtrongeſt ſanction which he could deſire; for the members bound themſelves by oath to acknowledge Matilda as their ſovereign, if her royal father ſhould die without legitimate male iſſue [20].

A. D. 1125.

A. D. 1126.

A. D. 1127.

The ſatisfaction derived by Henry from this approbation of his propoſal, was greatly allayed by intelligence which he ſoon after received from the continent, importing that Charles of Denmark, earl of Flanders, ſurnamed the Good, with whom he had conſtantly lived on terms of friendſhip, had been aſſaſſinated in a church at Bruges by a party of his own ſubjects; and that the king of France, as ſovereign lord of that earldom, had conferred it on the young Norman prince [21], who had ſtrong pretenſions to it as great-grand-ſon of Baldwin IV. the father of the Conqueror's queen. This

20. Gul. Malmſb. Hiſt. Novell. lib. i. —Matth. Par. p. 67.

21. Chron. Sax. p. 230.

aggrandiſe-

A. D. 1127. aggrandiſement of his nephew gave great uneaſineſs to Henry, who dreaded the ſucceſs of that prince's future attempts for the reduction of Normandy, which might not prove a difficult taſk to an enterpriſing warrior, poſſeſſed of a flouriſhing ſtate, and favored by the ſecret wiſhes of moſt of the nobles of the duchy. As he knew the inconſtancy of the count of Anjou, he apprehended the inſtability of his late accommodation with this prince; and, having always looked on the Anjevin power with an eye of jealouſy and fear, as being ſo conveniently circumſtanced for haraſſing and embroiling his Norman territories, he deliberately reflected on the beſt means of preventing a connexion between his nephew and the count. The moſt effectual ſecurity againſt ſo dangerous an union appeared to be the marriage of his daughter the empreſs to Geoffrey[22], the ſon of Fulk. He therefore negotiated this alliance without delay; and the count and his ſon readily acceded to it, though it ſeems not to have been equally agreeable to Matilda herſelf, whoſe pride ill brooked the idea of giving the hand of an empreſs of Germany to the humble heir of an Anjevin count. Not preſuming, however, to oppoſe the will of her father, ſhe paſſed over into Normandy, under the eſcort of Robert earl of Gloceſter, one of Henry's illegitimate ſons. She was immediately betrothed to Geoffrey; and, on the king's arrival at Rouen in the ſame ſummer, the nuptials were completely ſolemniſed. Fulk then reſigned all his dominions (comprehending the provinces of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine) to his ſon; a ceſſion which he was induced to make by the reverſionary offer of the crown of Jeruſalem, which Baldwin II. had engaged to ſecure

22. Surnamed *Martel* from his anceſtors, and *Plantagenet* from a ſprig of broom which he wore on the creſt of his helmet.

to

to him, if he would consent to espouse his eldest daughter. Repairing to the Holy Land, he gave his hand to the princess, succeeded to the crown after an interval of about four years, and defended his new territories against the infidels with great spirit and success [23]. A. D. 1127.

The treaty of marriage between Matilda and Geoffrey had been planned and negotiated with such secrecy, that the accomplishment of it gave great surprise to the nobles of England and Normandy; and their wonder was succeeded by resentment at the neglect with which their sovereign had treated them, in taking so important a step without their concurrence [24]. The discontent which this clandestine measure produced was so general, as to give room to suspect that it would have a sinister influence on the fidelity of many of those who had lately sworn to support Matilda's succession.

The new earl of Flanders, having commenced his administration with the rigorous punishment of all who had been concerned in the murder of his predecessor Charles, had excited, by this meritorious act of retributive justice, the odium of the turbulent part of his subjects. Some complained of his haughtiness; others, of his parsimony; and some, of his propensity to voluptuous gratifications. Henry fomented the dissatisfaction of the Flemings, and encouraged them to transfer their allegiance to Theodoric land-grave of Alsace, who had some claim to the earldom. While the earl was making preparations for the invasion of the Norman duchy, he was engaged in hostilities with Stephen earl of Boulogne, the nephew and ally of Henry; an opportunity which seemed favorable to the views of Theodoric, who, entering Flanders, was soon A. D. 1128.

23. Matth. Par. — Ann. Waverl. 24. Gul. Malmsb. Hist. Nov.

put

A. D. 1128. put in poſſeſſion of Ghent, Liſle, and other towns, by the traitorous inhabitants. The French king was inclined to aſſiſt his friend William in this emergency; but the politic Henry, by marching with an army into France, diſconcerted the ſchemes of Lewis, and compelled him to obſerve a neutrality. William, with all the forces he could raiſe, inveſted the citadel of Aloſt, which had revolted to his competitor. When the fortreſs was on the point of ſurrendering, the landgrave advanced to it's relief; and a battle took place between his troops and thoſe of the earl of Flanders, in which the former at firſt gained the advantage; but the extraordinary valor of William ſoon changed the ſcene, and routed the enemy. The victor then reſuming the ſiege, found near the gates of the citadel a party of the garriſon, who had ſallied out during the engagement, and whom he inſtantly encountered. In this ſkirmiſh, he received a wound in his hand, by endeavouring to ſeiſe a lance which a ſoldier held out againſt him. This accident, apparently ſo trifling, put an end to his life in a few days, the wound turning to a gangrene. Before he expired, he entreated, by letter, his uncle's pardon, for the diſturbance which he had given him, and conjured him to extend the ſame forgiveneſs to Helie de St. Saen, and his other friends, who had adhered to him with unſhaken fidelity[25].

Henry was now delivered from that continual anxiety with which his mind had been haraſſed by the competition of his enterpriſing nephew. The removal of his jealous fears gave room for the operations of generoſity; and he complied with the final requeſt of that prince, by receiving into his favor all who were deſirous of obtaining it. The earl of Meulant, and

25. Ord. Vital. lib. xii.—Gul. Gemet. lib. viii.—Ann. Waverl. p. 149.

other

other noblemen who had been puniſhed with impriſonment and forfeiture for having revolted to his nephew, were reſtored to their liberty and eſtates. The diſaffected barons of the duchy, having loſt the prince whom they wiſhed to put in poſſeſſion of their ſovereignty, peaceably ſubmitted to the government of Henry. The intimate union which this monarch had formed with Geoffrey count of Anjou, and with Theodoric of Alſace, the ſucceſſor of William in the earldom of Flanders, deterred the king of France from giving him any further moleſtation. A. D. 1128. A. D. 1129.

This fortunate concurrence of events ſecured tranquillity to the remainder of Henry's reign; and the national buſineſs which principally attracted his attention in that interval of peace, was the continuance of the crown in his family by the ſucceſſion of his only legitimate child Matilda. The ambition of his old age was ſolely directed to that point. After ſhe had reſided ſome years with her Anjevin huſband in a ſtate of little harmony, Henry brought her with him into England, and ſummoned a public aſſembly at Northampton, where the members, at his deſire, renewed their oaths in favor of Matilda, as the immediate heir of the crown. It was debated at the ſame meeting, whether ſhe ſhould be ſent back to the count of Anjou, who had demanded her of his father-in-law; and the reſult of the deliberation was a compliance with Geoffrey's requiſition [26]. A. D. 1131.

Matilda had yet borne no children either to her former or her preſent huſband; a circumſtance which alarmed her father with apprehenſions of her being conſtitutionally barren. But, in the ſixth year of her ſecond marriage, he received the pleaſing intelligence, that ſhe had been delivered of a ſon at Le Mans. On the A. D. 1133.

26. Hen. Huntingd. lib. vii.—Gul. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. i.

A. D. 1133. news of this event, he convoked a general council, and required all the members of it to take once more the oath of fealty to his daughter, and to bind themſelves by a ſimilar ſanction to recogniſe the right of her infant ſon to the crown after her deceaſe [27]. Impatient to ſee his grandſon, and reviſit a daughter for whom he had always retained a great affection, he made another voyage to the continent, whence he never afterwards returned. He was gratified, in the next year, with

A. D. 1134. the birth of another grandſon; and, in the year following, of a third. The pleaſure of Matilda's ſociety in-

A. D. 1135. duced him to prolong his abſence from his kingdom; and the miſunderſtanding which had ariſen between him and Geoffrey, who demanded the ſurrender of Normandy in conſequence of a previous agreement, which Henry did not admit in the unconditional ſenſe affixed to it by the count, operated as another reaſon for the king's reſidence on the continent, that he might be ready to counteract the intrigues of his ambitious ſon-in-law.

Having received information of furious ravages committed by the Welſh, he prepared for croſſing the channel; but contrary winds obſtructing his intention, he deferred the voyage. Having taken the diverſion of the chaſe near Rouen, he returned in the evening with his blood inflamed by long-continued exerciſe; and, after feaſting immoderately on lampreys [28], a food of which he was remarkably fond, he was attacked by a fever in the night, which ſome have imputed to the agitation of his mind on hearing of the Welſh irruptions, and others to his reſentment and uneaſineſs on account of the turbulent ſpirit and ſeditious meaſures of his ſon-in-law. Finding that his diſ-

27. R. de Dicet. edit. Twiſd. col. 505.—Matth. Par.—Walſingh. Ypodigm. Neuſtr.

28. Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.—Hov. p. 275.—Matth. Par. p. 70.

order

order was not to be overcome by the efforts of the medical art, he looked forward to the privation of life with a mixture of hope and fear, received abſolution and the final unction from Hugh archbiſhop of Rouen, gave orders for the reſtoration of all Engliſh and Norman exiles to their country and poſſeſſions, remitted all arrears due to him, and enjoined to his ſon, the earl of Gloceſter, the diſtribution of 60,000 *l.* from his treaſure at Falaiſe, among his domeſtics and ſtipendiary ſoldiers [29]. The earl and other nobles having requeſted him to communicate his laſt ſentiments with regard to a ſucceſſor, he replied, that he bequeathed all his dominions to his daughter Matilda, and her heirs, in regular progreſs. In this diſpoſal of his territories, he made no mention of her huſband the count of Anjou, whom he could not forgive for the inſults which that impatient youth had offered him [30]. After an illneſs of ſix days, he died at St. Denys, near his Norman capital, at the age of ſixty-ſeven, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, having ſurvived by one year his injured brother Robert [31]. A. D. 1135. Dec. 1.

29. Ord. Vital. lib. xiii.

30. Gul. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. i.

31. His bowels were depoſited in the conventual church of Notre Dame du Pré, in the ſuburbs of Rouen; and his corpſe, being tranſported to England, was interred in the abbey of Reading, which he himſelf had founded and richly endowed.—The offspring of this monarch, except William and Matilda, whom he had by his firſt queen, were all illegitimate. Of his natural ſons, the principal were, the earl of Gloceſter, born of a Welſh princeſs; Richard, who was drowned with prince William; Reginald earl of Cornwall; and Henry, the anceſtor of the Herbert family. Of the female fruits of his incontinence, the moſt conſiderable were, Elizabeth (or Sibylla) the wife of Alexander the Fierce, king of Scotland; Matilda counteſs of Bretagne; and the counteſſes of Breteuil and Perche. Thirteen illegitimate children are aſcribed to him on good authority; but ſome writers have increaſed the number.

A. D. 1135.

The perſon of Henry I. is thus deſcribed by an eminent cotemporary hiſtorian. "His ſtature did not exceed mediocrity; his hair was black, and, towards his forehead, abundant; his eyes beamed with a complacent ſerenity; his cheſt was broad, and his body ſtrong and muſcular [32]." His abilities were of the firſt claſs; and, by the particular attention which his father had paid to his education, joined to his own diligence and his attachment to the purſuits of learning, he acquired ſo great a ſhare of the erudition of thoſe times, as to be deemed worthy of the epithet of *Beau-clerc*. His perſpicacity of intellect, and maturity of judgment, ſtrengthened by the attainments of literature, qualified him for the able exerciſe of the arts of government. The dignity of his demeanor commanded the reſpect of his ſubjects; his eloquence and addreſs conciliated their ſupport of his meaſures; and his conſummate prudence and vigilant circumſpection, by promoting the ſucceſs of his deſigns, gave an *éclat* to his adminiſtration, which contributed in no ſmall degree to the ſecurity of his throne. His diſtribution of juſtice was generally impartial, and uniformly ſevere; and, indeed, the unpuniſhed depravity of the people in the preceding reign loudly called for the exertions of ſalutary rigor [33].

Of the humanity of his nature, we cannot ſpeak in terms of panegyric. His extreme caution, and timid jealouſy, repreſſed the feelings of his heart, and led him into a courſe of oppreſſion and cruelty. He cheriſhed a virulent ſpirit of revenge, unworthy of a great prince. The emotions of compaſſion ſeldom diſturbed his political apathy; a temper which reduced thoſe

32. Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Reg. Angl. lib. v.

33. Such was his judicial ſeverity, that he was called, by the learned of that age, the Lion of Juſtice.

who

who were once his enemies to the neceſſity of continuing to oppoſe him. Some acts of clemency, however, appeared during his reign, to throw a caſual luſtre over the darkneſs of his ſeverity; but theſe inſtances ſeem to have been confined to thoſe periods of his life when his fears of danger were diſarmed by the complete diſcomfiture of his adverſaries. A. D. 1135.

Notwithſtanding his apparent coolneſs of diſpoſition, he gave ample demonſtrations of an aſpiring mind, in his invaſion of the Engliſh throne, and his ſeiſure of the Norman duchy. His luſt of dominion effaced the ſentiments of probity and honor, to which, on ordinary occaſions, his affectation of virtue inclined him to adhere. He conſidered treaties as mere forms of ſtate, or the produce of temporary views of convenience; and therefore violated them without the leaſt ſcruple, whenever the ſpirit of them was repugnant to the ſchemes of his ambition. His treatment of his elder brother commenced in perfidy, was continued in violence and rapacity, and terminated in unnatural cruelty.

His military ſkill was not ſo diſtinguiſhed as to procure him an equal reputation with that which he acquired by his political ability; and, on the other hand, it was not ſo deſpicable as to entail on him the contempt even of the moſt celebrated warriors. His courage, though untinctured with the romantic heroiſm of chivalry, was ſerene and undaunted. Though he did not ruſh into danger with the precipitancy of a martial enthuſiaſt, he prepared to meet it with an aſpect of cool intrepidity; and while his prudence diſſuaded him from expoſing his own life, or that of his ſoldiers, to unneceſſary hazard, he never, when once engaged in conflict, betrayed ſymptoms of perſonal timidity.

A. D. 1135. Though a native of this kingdom, he entertained illiberal prejudices againſt the Engliſh, in conſequence of his Norman deſcent. Throughout his whole reign, he conferred every poſt of honor and emolument on perſons of Norman or foreign extraction, and ſtudiouſly avoided the remuneration of any merit which belonged to thoſe of Anglo-Saxon origin[34]. This groſs partiality was endured by the Engliſh with patience and ſubmiſſion. The re-eſtabliſhment of ſome of the Saxon laws, though this reſtoration was not ſo general as Henry's charter gave reaſon to expect, gratified them with a ſhadow, if not the ſubſtance, of ancient times, and induced them to bear, without much repining, the invidious prepoſſeſſion of their ſovereign, and the enormous burthens with which his continental wars, and the avarice of his temper, continually loaded his ſubjects of every deſcription. Theſe oppreſſions were prevented from producing any open diſcontent, by the reputation of his policy, the activity and vigor of his adminiſtration, the ſtrictneſs of his juſtice, the intermixture of a few popular acts with a multitude of arbitrary proceedings, and by the impoſing affability of his manners, which flattered the pride, and inſenſibly won the acquieſcence, of thoſe who were the objects of his tyranny.

In the concerns of domeſtic life, he is entitled to the character of an amiable man. He treated his queens with great affection and benevolence; and his children, whether legitimate or natural, were conſtantly favored with the attentive regards of a fond parent. To the retinue of his court and houſehold, he was a kind and liberal maſter. As a companion, he was eaſy and facetious, without ſuffering his mirth to degenerate into a degrading familiarity. As a

34. Eadm. p. 110.

5 friend,

friend, he was remarkable for his zealous attachment to thoſe whom he had ſelected from the crowd of his courtiers, as perſons the moſt deſerving of royal favor. Of his private appetites, incontinence had the greateſt ſway over him; and his propenſity to this vice is ſufficiently evident from the number of his miſtreſſes and illegitimate children. In other ſenſual deſires, he cultivated temperance and moderation. His principal diverſion was hunting, to which he was ſo attached, that, in the beginning of his reign, when he granted his charter, and was eager to make every conceſſion which he thought likely to attach his people to his ſervice, he forbore to gratify them in a point which he knew they had much at heart, and ſignified his intentions of preſerving the foreſt-laws in the ſame ſtate in which they ſtood before his acceſſion [35]. A. D. 1135.

35. There is a code of laws aſcribed to Henry I. but the moſt judicious antiquaries deny it's authenticity.

CHAP. VI.

STEPHEN.

Stephen earl of Boulogne uſurps the crown.—He endeavours to ſecure himſelf againſt the attempts of the empreſs Matilda, by the moſt popular conceſſions.—David king of Scotland marches with an army into England, to ſupport the empreſs's claim;—but he ſoon makes peace with the uſurper.—Stephen is invited to take poſſeſſion of the Norman duchy.—The Scots are totally routed by the Engliſh in the battle of the Standard. The empreſs lands in England to aſſert her right to the crown.—A civil war begins to rage with great fury.—The king is taken priſoner in battle.—Matilda is then acknowledged queen;—but her injudicious conduct ſoon ruins her affairs.—Her brother, being taken priſoner, is exchanged for Stephen, who thus recovers his throne.

A. D. 1135. EXAMPLES of ſucceſsful uſurpation too frequently find imitators. Henry had ſupplanted the lawful heir of the crown with great facility; and, by his zealous aſſiduity in procuring the recognition of his daughter's right, he ſeems to have been apprehenſive of the ſimilar attempts of ſome bold pretender, which he therefore endeavoured to anticipate by the ſanction of reiterated oaths in favor of her ſucceſſion, taken by every conſiderable perſon in the kingdom. But a ſmaller degree of penetration than he poſſeſſed, might have pointed out to him the little confidence that ought to be repoſed in the oaths and promiſes of unenlightened times, particularly in an age when prieſts were ready to give abſolution for every breach of honor and morality. He might, at the ſame time, have reflected, that the profuſion of his grants to his favorites tended

to



Heath Sc.

STEPHEN.

Publish'd Feb.ʸ 25. 1791. by C. Stalker.

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to advance ſome of them to ſuch a height of power and influence, as to ſmooth the paths of their ambition to the accompliſhment of the greateſt deſigns, even to the attainment of the crown itſelf. His general policy had taught him to circumſcribe the efforts of his nobility within ſuch limits as would prevent them from becoming too formidable: but, in ſome inſtances, he contravened his own eſtabliſhed maxims; and, by raiſing his moſt eſteemed friends to an extraordinary degree of opulence, dignity, and political importance, he himſelf contributed to defeat the grand object which had flattered the hopes, and roufed the exertions, of his declining years. A. D. 1135.

Of the courtiers who enjoyed a plenitude of royal favor in the reign of Henry, Stephen, the grandſon of William the Conqueror, poſſeſſed the greateſt ſhare of wealth and power. He was the third ſon of Stephen earl of Blois, by William's daughter Adela. Having been educated in the court of his uncle Henry, he had inſinuated himſelf into that prince's good graces, and had procured, from his patronage and bounty, a plurality of honors and eſtates. He had been gratified with the ample poſſeſſions forfeited by Robert Malet in this kingdom, as well as with the Norman lands of the impriſoned earl of Mortagne. By the king's recommendation, he had been favored with the hand of Matilda, the daughter and heireſs of Euſtace earl of Boulogne, by Mary of Scotland, the ſiſter of Henry's firſt queen. By this marriage, he had not only obtained that valuable earldom, but a great number of Engliſh manors, which the Conqueror had beſtowed on the Boulogne family. His younger brother Henry had alſo participated of the royal ſmiles, having been pre rred to the government of the rich abbey of Glaſtonbury, and promoted to the biſhopric of Wincheſter. Whether

A. D. 1135. ther Stephen had conceived, during the life of his uncle, any idea of aiming at the ſucceſſion, is uncertain; but it is probable that, after the death of the king's ſon William, he had begun to cheriſh ſuch hopes, when no proſpect appeared of any iſſue from Henry's ſecond queen. Being acquainted, however, with the jealous diſpoſition of that monarch, he was particularly cautious of giving him the leaſt ſuſpicion of his having formed any intentions derogatory to the right of the empreſs Matilda. He conſidered himſelf as having ſome pretenſions to the crown, not only by his deſcent from the Conqueror, but in right of his wife, who, on the mother's ſide, was lineally deſcended from Edmund Ironſide. He knew that, by the original principles of the feudal law, none but thoſe who were fully capable of military ſervice were ſuffered to inherit; and, as this ſyſtem had been eſtabliſhed in England, it was natural to imagine that the warlike barons would not be diſpoſed to ſubmit to the government of a female, or acquieſce in the devolution of the crown on a perſon of that ſex which the feudal inſtitutions preſumed to be incapable of performing the conditions annexed to the tenure of fiefs, or of exerciſing the functions of royalty over a martial and turbulent people. For ſome time, indeed, before the death of Henry, the rigors of female excluſion had relaxed, and, in default of male iſſue, women had been permitted to ſucceed to the poſſeſſion of fiefs; and, among many inſtances which had occurred on the continent, there was one in the caſe of Stephen's wife, who inherited the feudal property of her father, and in whoſe right he himſelf now poſſeſſed the earldom of Boulogne. But there was a conſiderable difference between the admiſſion of a female to the inheritance of a petty fief, and the idea of intruſting to one of that ſex the more impor-

important and arduous taſk of wielding the ſceptre of an independent monarchy. Hence aroſe ſtrong objections in the minds even of thoſe who had ſworn to acknowledge Henry's daughter as their lawful ſovereign; a conceſſion which ſeems to have proceeded leſs from conviction of the propriety of the meaſure, than from a courtly unwillingneſs to embitter the old age of their royal maſter by oppoſing his inclinations in a favorite point. A. D. 1135.

In the firſt recognition of Matilda's title, Stephen had been the firſt of the laity in taking the oath of fealty to that princeſs, except David king of Scotland[1]; and, on this occaſion, a conteſt had enſued between him and Robert earl of Gloceſter, the eldeſt of the king's natural ſons, with reſpect to the priority of ſwearing[2]. This eagerneſs of Stephen, though his oſtenſible purpoſe was to diſplay a zeal for his couſin's ſucceſſion, that he might elude the ſuſpicions of Henry, was perhaps intended to determine whether he or the earl of Gloceſter had the preferable claim to the crown, in the event either of Matilda's dying before her father without iſſue (for ſhe had then borne no children), or of his meeting with an opportunity of aſpiring to his uncle's ſucceſſion, in repugnance to the pretenſions of the empreſs dowager.

1. This prince took the oath in the capacity of earl of Huntingdon, having derived that title and eſtate from his marriage with Matilda, the daughter of the celebrated earl Waltheof. But, though he ſupported the empreſs's title, he himſelf had a better claim to the Engliſh crown than that princeſs, in point of original right, derived from the kings of the Anglo-Saxon line; for he was a ſon of Malcolm Canmore by Margaret, the grand-daughter of Edmund Ironſide, and had therefore a ſuperior right to the empreſs, who was deſcended from Margaret on the female ſide. The eſtabliſhment of the Norman line, however, had precluded the adoption of any right but that which was in part derived from the blood of the Conqueror.

2. Gul. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. i.

A. D. 1135. At the time of Henry's deceaſe, Stephen was at Boulogne, whence he was called into immediate action by the news of ſo agreeable an event. Though he was indebted for his preſent pre-eminence to the kindneſs and liberality of his uncle, and had bound himſelf, by the ſolemnity of ſucceſſive oaths, to ſupport the claim of that prince's daughter, he employed that very power which he had procured by Henry's favor, in the counteraction of the expreſs wiſhes and the laſt will of his patron: the commiſſion of deliberate perjury, and the violation of every tie of gratitude and honor, appearing of no moment in the eyes of his rapacious ambition. Haſtening acroſs the channel, he landed at Dover; and, without being diſcouraged by the repulſe which he received from the inhabitants both of that town and of Canterbury, he boldly proceeded to London, where he was welcomed with the loud acclamations of the inferior citizens, among whom he had long been extremely popular, in conſequence of his uncommon affability. By a tumultuary nomination of his partiſans, he was immediately ſaluted king; and repairing without delay to Wincheſter, this fortunate pretender, by his perſuaſions and promiſes, and by the influence of his brother Henry, biſhop of that ſee, prevailed on William de Pont-de-l'Arche, the keeper of the late king's treaſure, to ſurrender that valuable charge into the hands of his aſpiring nephew. It conſiſted of about 100,000 pounds in caſh, beſides a conſiderable quantity of plate and jewels. The diſtribution of theſe ſpoils had a rapid effect in diſſolving the ſolemn ties by which the deceaſed monarch had bound his principal ſubjects to the intereſts of his daughter [3].

In aiming at the acquiſition of the crown, Stephen was conſcious of the neceſſity of gaining over the clergy

3. Gul. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. i.

to

to his views, without whoſe concurrence the magnificent prize would have ſoared above his reach. In ſecuring that powerful body on his ſide, his brother the biſhop was ſo highly inſtrumental, that Stephen, in a great meaſure, owed his ſucceſs to the extenſive influence of that intriguing prelate. Roger biſhop of Saliſbury being the moſt potent and wealthy of all the members of the church, much depended on his aſſent or oppoſition to the deſigns of the uſurper, who was therefore particularly deſirous of ſeducing him from his allegiance to Matilda. If gratitude may be allowed to have any weight in the mind of a ſtateſman, Roger ought to have ſtrongly felt the emotions of that amiable principle; for he had been raiſed by the late king from the humble office of a parochial prieſt to the epiſcopal rank, to the employments of chancellor and chief juſticiary, and to the ſtation of prime miniſter. Having acted as regent in Henry's abſence, he remained guardian of the realm at the demiſe of his ſovereign; and it was peculiarly incumbent on him to ſecure the crown to that perſon whom the defunct prince had appointed for his ſucceſſor, with the repeated and ſolemn conſent of the great council of the nation. But the obligations of public duty, and the moral ſanction of his perſonal oaths, had leſs effect on his mind, than the views of future intereſt; and the arts of the biſhop of Wincheſter, who, in his brother's name, promiſed him whatever he aſked, reconciled him to the deſertion of his benefactor's daughter [4].

A. D. 1135.

William de Corboil, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was the next perſon whom Henry of Wincheſter attempted to gain; but, when that prelate was requeſted to crown Stephen, he refuſed to comply, as ſuch a procedure would be a violation of his fealty to the empreſs.

4. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. i. et ii.

This

A. D. 1135. This difficulty was ſoon removed by a palpable perjury. Hugh Bigod, ſteward of the houſehold, declared to the primate, upon oath, that the late monarch had diſinherited his daughter on his death-bed, in favor of his nephew Stephen [5]. The archbiſhop now withdrew his oppoſition, and conſented to crown the earl of Boulogne; a ſolemnity which was performed in the Dec. 22. abbey of Weſtminſter, with a ſmaller attendance than had ever appeared at a coronation [6].

The pretenſions of Stephen being thus ſanctioned by the royal unction, a circumſtance which hallowed his perſon in the eyes of the people, he proceeded to take the moſt expedient meaſures for fixing himſelf in the throne into which he had intruded. After having ſolemniſed his Chriſtmas at Weſtminſter, he increaſed his popularity by attending the corpſe of his predeceſſor A. D. 1136. to Reading, and by being preſent at the funeral, which was conducted with great magnificence. But, before he returned to his capital, he was obliged to march into the North with a great army, to oppoſe the progreſs of David king of Scotland, who, as ſoon as he had been informed of the death of Henry, had overrun ſome of the northern counties of England, had taken the principal fortreſſes in thoſe parts, and had compelled the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to his niece, the empreſs Matilda. Stephen met this invader near Durham; but no engagement enſued between the two armies, the Scottiſh monarch propoſing an accommodation, which ended in a treaty of peace. The city of Carliſle was ceded to David, on condition of his reſtoring every other place which he had taken; and Stephen confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of the earldom of Huntingdon: but the Scot was ſcrupulous

5. Matth. Par. p. 71.—R. de Dicet. lib. i.—Brompt. Chron. col. 1023.

6. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov.

of

of doing homage to the new king of England, on account of the oath which he had taken to promote his niece's ſucceſſion. This objection was admitted by Stephen, who conſented to receive homage for theſe territories from David's ſon Henry [7]. A. D. 1136.

This repulſe of the Scots, concurring with the abſence of the empreſs, and her natural brother Robert earl of Gloceſter, who was religiouſly devoted to her cauſe, diſcouraged the efforts of her friends in England; and the plauſible profeſſions and liberalities of the uſurper, gradually won over the majority of the nobles to the ſupport of his title. To ſtrengthen himſelf in his throne, he invited a great number of ſoldiers of fortune from Germany, Flanders, and Bretagne; for, in that age, the continent abounded with military adventurers, who, prompted by a reſtleſs ſpirit, and averſe to the reſtraints of regular ſociety, were ready to defend any prince or leader who offered them the moſt advantageous terms for their ſervice. To this army of foreign mercenaries Stephen added ſome companies of natives of a ſimilar character, that he might be enabled to preſerve his crown againſt the attempts of Matilda's adherents [8].

When the earl of Gloceſter had executed the teſtamentary injunctions of his father, he prepared for a voyage to England, whither he had been ſummoned to do homage to the new king, who dreaded the exertion of his influence and abilities in behalf of his ſupplanted ſiſter. The uſurper, indeed, had reaſon to conſider his royalty as precarious, while the claim of his competitor was patroniſed by ſo diſtinguiſhed a character, who was univerſally eſteemed for his honor and integrity, admired for his courage and military talents, applaud-

7. Hen. Huntingd. lib. viii.—Ann. Waverl. p. 152.
8. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. i.

ed

A. D. 1136. ed for his literary attainments, and beloved for his liberality and courteſy. After mature reflexion on the predicament in which he ſtood, the earl reſolved to perform homage and ſwear fealty to Stephen for his eſtates in England and Wales, which, he knew, would otherwiſe be wreſted from him. He was aware that, by refuſing his allegiance to that prince, he ſhould debar himſelf from the power of taking any effectual ſteps for the ſervice of Matilda; and, on the other hand, he foreſaw, that, by concealing from Stephen his intentions of ſupporting her claim, he might be enabled to form a ſecret party in the kingdom for the depoſition of the perjured uſurper. On his arrival in England, he made the feudal ſubmiſſions to the king; but he accompanied his oath of fealty with an expreſs condition, purporting that it ſhould ceaſe to be obligatory on Stephen's violation of his engagements with him, and on his neglecting to maintain him in all his rights and dignities. This reſervation could not be very pleaſing to the king; but, as even the temporary forbearance of ſo powerful a nobleman was a point of ſome advantage in the unſettled ſtate of his government, he conſented to accept theſe imperfect tokens of ſubjection [9].

Stephen, at his coronation, had added to the oath of his predeceſſors ſuch clauſes as were dictated by the barons and prelates who had concurred in his election. At the ſame time, he had granted a favorable charter, couched in general terms, for the ſatisfaction of his new ſubjects. As he knew that the papal approbation of his title would have great weight in a ſuperſtitious age, he had taken the precaution of applying to the pontiff (Innocent II.) for his holy ſanction. The ample promiſes which he had made to the church at the time

9. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. i.—Matth. Par. p. 71.

of his receiving the crown from the primate's hands, had prevailed on ſome of the dignified clergy to recommend his cauſe to the pope, who favored him with a bull for the ratification of his royal title [10]. This confirmation of his pretenſions not only brought over the remaining eccleſiaſtics to his ſide, but increaſed the number of his adherents among the laity. He now held a great council at Oxford, and granted a more circumſtantial charter than that which he had before promulgated. By this inſtrument, he confirmed the privileges of the church; diſclaimed all ſimoniacal proceedings; ſubjected the perſons and property of all clergymen to the ſole juriſdiction of the biſhops; promiſed to commit the eſtates belonging to eccleſiaſtical dignities, during a vacancy, into the hands of upright truſtees, who ſhould reſtore them unimpaired to the next occupant; profeſſed an intention of adhering to juſtice and equity in all his meaſures; and gave up to the public all the additions which had been made to the royal foreſts by the late ſovereign. It is obſervable, that, at the cloſe of this charter, he expreſſes his confirmation of the different articles with a reſervation of his juſt and royal dignity [11]; words which, in the con- A. D. 1136.

10. In a manuſcript letter of Gilbert Foliot, then abbot of Gloceſter, and afterwards biſhop of London, it is affirmed that Innocent grounded his ſupport of Stephen on the ſuppoſed illegality of king Henry's marriage with Matilda of Scotland; for, as that princeſs had worn the veil, it was aſſerted in the papal council, that ſhe was incapable of contracting lawful matrimony; and, therefore, that her daughter the empreſs was illegitimate, and had no juſt pretenſions to her father's crown. If this objection to Matilda's marriage with Henry had been valid, (though the reader, by referring to our remarks on that ſubject at the period to which it belongs, will find that even a bigoted advocate of the ſee of Rome admitted the match to be perfectly legal), Innocent would have readily mentioned it as the ground of his oppoſing the empreſs's claim; but no pretence of that kind appears in his bull, as given by Richard of Hexham in his memoirs of Stephen's reign.

11. Chart. Reg. Steph. MS. inter Archiv. Decani et Capit. Exon.

A. D. 1136. ſcience of ſovereigns much more tenacious of their honor than Stephen ever proved himſelf, would authoriſe an evaſion of moſt of the clauſes contained in the inſtrument. The clergy, though they pretended to be ſatisfied with the king's declarations, gave themſelves as good an opportunity of evading their oaths, as he had ſecured to himſelf; for they qualified their fealty by affirming, that they regarded their oaths as no longer binding, than while he preſerved the liberties of the church, and the vigor of her diſcipline; or, in other words, that they would not obey him unleſs he connived at their aſſumption of arbitrary power in all clerical affairs, and their continual encroachments on the civil authority.

Among the favors granted by this prince on his acceſſion, was a licence to the nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal, to fortify their habitations[12]. Though his views, in thus converting into a general liberty what his predeceſſors had only granted by occaſional and particular permiſſion, were partly directed to the better defence of the country againſt the efforts of his female rival, he alſo meant it as a gratification to the nobles, many of whom had ſolicited ſuch a conceſſion. The event proved it to be a very impolitic grant, detrimental not only to the intereſts of the king, but to the ſecurity and welfare of the people. An early inſtance of the ill conſequences of this meaſure appeared in the caſe of Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon, who, having fortified the caſtle of Exeter, held it againſt Stephen for ſome months, but was at length obliged to ſurrender; after which he defended himſelf in the Iſle of Wight againſt the king, by whom, however, he was compelled to retire to the continent. Robert de

12. Knight. Hiſt. edit. Twyſd. col. 2385.—Brompt. Chron.

Bathenton

Bathenton likewiſe fortified himſelf againſt Stephen, but without ſucceſs; for his caſtle, after a ſhort reſiſtance, was taken by the royaliſts [13]. A. D. 1136.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the inhabitants of the continental dominions of the late king were divided among themſelves. Some of the barons ſubmitted to the empreſs, in compliance with the oath which they had taken before her father's deceaſe. Others invited Theobald earl of Blois, the elder brother of the new Engliſh monarch, to aſſume the ſovereignty of the duchy; but, when they found that Stephen had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the throne which he had uſurped, the principal nobles agreed to put that prince in poſſeſſion of Normandy, in purſuance of their old maxim of procuring the ſame maſter both for that country and for England. A diviſion of ſentiment, however, ſtill prevailing, Stephen paſſed over into the duchy, whither he was ſoon followed by the earl of Gloceſter, who ſecretly endeavoured to counteract his views. The intrigues of this nobleman did not eſcape the ſuſpicions of Stephen's counſellors; and William d'Ypres, the commander of his foreign troops, adviſed him to apprehend the obnoxious earl. But Robert, being warned of his danger, abſented himſelf from the court of Stephen, who, finding that his intentions were highly reſented by the earl's numerous friends, propoſed an interview with him, in which he apologiſed for his ſiniſter deſign, and ſwore that he would never more adopt ſuch an iniquitous meaſure [14]. A. D. 1137.

Before Stephen's arrival in Normandy, the arms of the count of Anjou, and the perſonal as well as political animoſities of the barons, had occaſioned great diſor-

13. Hen. Huntingd. lib. viii.—Hoved. p. 276.

14. Gul. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. i.

A.D. 1137. ders in that province, from which the count was ſoon recalled by an inſurrection in this own dominions; but having ſpeedily quelled this revolt, he returned into the duchy, and exerted all his efforts to compel the Normans to acknowledge his wife for their ſovereign. Their hereditary averſion to the Anjevins being augmented by the furious ravages which the latter now committed, Geoffrey made little progreſs in his attempts; and being diſpirited by a wound which he received, as well as by the prevalence of a dyſentery among his troops, he retired into Anjou, though Matilda had lately brought him a reinforcement. After his retreat, the mutual outrages of the inhabitants ſtill continued, till the appearance of the king of England, who, when he had received the ſubmiſſions of the principal nobility, entered the French territories, and, in an interview with Lewis the Groſs, procured that monarch's confirmation of his pretenſions to the Norman duchy, with the promiſe of the hand of the princeſs Conſtance of France for his ſon Euſtace. The count of Anjou having renewed his efforts for the acquiſition of Normandy, Stephen reſolved to give him battle; but the jealouſy which his Norman troops had conceived of his Flemiſh mercenaries, whom he ſeemed to treat as his beſt friends, had ariſen to ſuch a height, that, when they were on their march againſt the Anjevins, an engagement actually enſued between the two diviſions of the royal army, and much blood was ſhed before the influence of Stephen could appeaſe the fury of the combatants [15]. This quarrel being followed by the deſertion of many of the Norman barons, the king, judging that it would be dangerous to encounter the enemy while ſuch diſunion prevailed among his forces, agreed to a truce for two years,

15. Ord. Vital. lib. xiii.

propoſed

propoſed by the Anjevin count, to whom he engaged to pay, during that time, an annuity of 5000 marks. He, at the ſame time, bound himſelf to the annual payment of 2000 marks to the earl of Blois, in conſideration of his renouncing his pretenſions to the duchy. He then returned to England, after having reduced ſome licentious barons to order and obedience [16]. A. D. 1137.

In the abſence of Stephen, the king of Scotland had prepared to invade Northumberland, the government of which he claimed in behalf of his ſon Henry, the grandſon and lawful heir of Waltheof, earl of that county in the Conqueror's reign. But, by the mediation of the archbiſhop of York, he was prevailed on to ſuſpend hoſtilities till he ſhould learn Stephen's determination with reſpect to his claim. That monarch, on his return, decided againſt the pretenſions of David's ſon; and this diſappointment, concurring with a deſire of ſerving the cauſe of the empreſs, with whoſe friends in England the Scottiſh king held a correſpondence, impelled him into a war with Stephen. Aſſembling a conſiderable army, which comprehended a number of undiſciplined barbarians from Galloway, and other diſtricts included in the ancient Cumbrian principality, he inveſted the caſtle of Wark, ſituated on the banks of the Tweed. After ſome ineffectual aſſaults upon that fort, his ſoldiers, particularly the Gallovidians, diffuſed over the open country, as far as the Tyne, the moſt inhuman ravages, plundering and burning both public and private buildings, and putting the inhabitants to death with a variety of horrible tortures [17]. A. D. 1138.

Stephen's return from Normandy had been haſtened by the intelligence which his miniſters had ſent him of

16. Matth. Par. p. 72.—Hoved. p. 276. 17. Ric. Haguſtald. de Geſt. Steph. ad ann. 1138.—Ann. Waverl. p. 153.—Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.

A. D. 1138. the diſordered ſtate of his kingdom, in which there was a ſtrong party in favor of the empreſs. Some individuals had been apprehended and puniſhed in his abſence for having evinced a diſaffection to the government [18]; and, ſoon after his landing, he had found it expedient to march in perſon to Bedford, where the ſons of Robert de Beauchamp had fortified themſelves againſt him. They ſuſtained a ſiege for ſeveral weeks, and then ſurrendered the caſtle by capitulation. He now advanced againſt the Scots, who, intimidated by his approach, haſtily retreated within their own frontiers. He purſued them for ſome time without effect; and, while they lay encamped near Roxburgh, he ravaged the low-lands of their country with fire and ſword: but want of proviſions, ſuſpicions of the fidelity of his officers, and the news of diſturbances in England, induced him to return to the ſouthward [19].

Various cauſes now concurred to agitate with great violence the government of Stephen. The weakneſs of his title to the crown encouraged the nobility to importune him with extravagant demands, which they ſuppoſed he would not venture to refuſe, as a denial might drive them into the arms of his powerful competitor. The facility of his firſt conceſſions had produced a ſeries of applications, which he had anſwered

18. Ordericus Vitalis ſpeaks of a conſpiracy, formed by the Engliſh at this time for maſſacring or expelling all the Normans, and elevating the Scottiſh king to the throne of England. This plot, he ſays, was diſcovered by ſome of the conſpirators to the biſhop of Ely; and, on the evidence of theſe informers, many of the delinquents were executed. But the account of this affair is juſtly diſcredited by lord Lyttelton, not only from it's improbability, but from the ſilence of other ancient authors on the ſubject; and the whole foundation of the ſtory may perhaps reſt on the exaggerated report of an inconſiderable plot, formed by a few diſaffected perſons againſt ſome of the obnoxious Normans.

19. Ailredi Hiſt. Bel. Standardi.—Ric. Haguſtald.—Matth. Par.

by

by grants of lands, honors, and money, till he had exhauſted the ample treaſures of his predeceſſor, and greatly diminiſhed the eſtates of the crown. He then relaxed in his bounties to his rapacious barons; and the neceſſary diſappointment of future ſolicitors influenced ſome of them to renounce their allegiance to him, and either aſſume an independent juriſdiction in their own manors, or transfer their homage to the empreſs. The intrigues of Matilda's ſecret friends augmented this ſpirit of diſaffection, and paved the way for a revolt in her favor. At the ſame time, the king's frequent violations of his charter arouſed the reſentment of the people, and ſubſtituted much odium in the room of his former popularity. Their diſcontent was increaſed by his partiality for his foreign mercenaries, who, being ſecure of his kindneſs, committed the greateſt exceſſes in the country which they had been called to protect. When their maſter's finances began to fail, they ſubſiſted by open depredation; and the national jealouſy, which will always attend a ſovereign's declared preference of foreigners to his own ſubjects, was inflamed to a high pitch of indignation by the inſolence and outrages of thoſe hireling plunderers. Theſe, however, were not the only freebooters who diſturbed the peace of the realm; for the general permiſſion of erecting caſtles had filled the country with a ſurpriſing number of fortreſſes, moſt of which had become the ſeats of tyranny and the receptacles of rapine[20]. From theſe garriſons, armed parties were conſtantly ſallying, to haraſs with intolerable exactions the wretched people, who, inſtead of being ſubject to the ſway of one ſovereign, endured the moſt ſevere oppreſſion from the barons of their reſpective vicinities,

A. D. 1138.

20. Chron. Sax.

A. D. 1138. from whoſe deſpotiſm they in vain appealed to the protection of their nominal monarch.

The prevalence of ſuch diſorders gave the earl of Gloceſter reaſon to think, that the opportunity was now favorable to his deſign of openly maintaining his ſiſter's right to the crown. The mere report of his intentions occaſioned further applications to the king for grants and rewards, from an idea that the danger of his ſituation might enforce compliance, while his refuſal might ſerve as a pretence for deſerting him. He had already ſeiſed the fortreſſes of ſome of the barons, whoſe loyalty he had cauſe to ſuſpect; but, as the fortified places were ſo numerous, and the nobles in general ſo independent and refractory, he found himſelf in a very hazardous predicament; his attempts for the reduction of ſome tending rather to animate the defenſive exertions of the reſt, than to recover the authority which he had loſt. In this ſtate of affairs, earl Robert ſent a meſſage to Stephen, renouncing his allegiance to him, which, he ſaid, was in fact diſſolved by that prince's violation of his engagements. He alſo alleged, as a reaſon for his preſent conduct, that the fealty which he had ſworn to the king was in itſelf unlawful, as it was ſubverſive of the oath which he had previouſly taken to his ſiſter. To prove that he had good authority for his renunciation of his fealty to Stephen, he produced a decree which he had received from the pope, inſtructing him to obſerve his prior oath [21].

Robert's defiance of Stephen operated as the ſignal of action to thoſe barons who were inclined to ſupport the empreſs. Some of them immediately avowed themſelves her friends; and an inteſtine war began to

21. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. i.

rage

rage with great fury. Though the earl of Gloceſter was ſtill in Normandy, his caſtles of Briſtol and Leeds were defended againſt the king by his adherents; and the fortreſſes of Dover, Wareham, Dunſter, Shrewſbury, and ſeveral others, became the ſeats of open inſurrection. Stephen, however, by his diligence and vigor, ſpeedily reduced ſome of theſe neſts of ſedition, and, by a mixture of clemency and ſeverity, compelled the proprietors to return to their allegiance. While he himſelf was employed in the ſiege of thoſe caſtles which oppoſed him in the weſtern parts of his kingdom, and his courageous queen, Matilda of Boulogne, was occupied in the reduction of the ſtrong fortreſs of Dover, which at length ſurrendered after a reſolute defence, an important ſcene diſplayed itſelf in the North. A. D. 1138.

After the departure of Stephen from Scotland, David prepared for another invaſion of that prince's dominions; and his troops, entering Northumberland, ravaged the maritime parts of that county, and then extended their devaſtations along the coaſts of the biſhopric of Durham. On the rumor of the approach of an Engliſh hoſt, they retreated with great precipitation, and ſtopped at Norham on the Tweed, to which David inſtantly laid ſiege with a part of his army, while he detached the remainder, conſiſting of Gallovidians, to ſpread terror through the ſhires of York and Lancaſter. Theſe invaders were oppoſed in their ravages by a body of Engliſh, over whom they gained a complete and ſanguinary victory at Clitheroe [22]. David, in the mean time, proſecuted the ſiege of Norham; and when he had become maſter of it, he diſmantled it; then making ſome unſucceſsful attempts on other Northumbrian fortreſſes, he returned into

22. Ric. Haguſt. edit. Twyſd. col. 318.

the

A. D. 1138. the biſhopric of Durham. Here he waited the rejunction of the Gallovidians, and the arrival of copious ſupplies from various parts of his territories. When he conſidered his army as ſufficiently powerful to cope with any force which the Engliſh monarch could ſend againſt him, he paſſed the Tees into Yorkſhire.

Stephen, regarding the internal troubles of the kingdom as more entitled to his perſonal attention than the defence of his frontiers, contented himſelf with giving inſtructions to his friends in the North to make head againſt the king of Scotland, and with ſending a ſtrong body of cavalry to join the military vaſſals of the northern barons. The barbarous devaſtations of the Scots had kindled a general deſire of vengeance among the inhabitants of the northern counties; and they reſorted with alacrity to the ſtandard of the aſſociated nobility, which, for the peculiarity of it's form and conſtruction, merits ſome deſcriptive remarks. A lofty pole, reſembling the maſt of a ſhip, was fixed on a car or waggon; at the ſummit of it was a croſs, accompanied with a ſilver pyx, containing the ſacramental hoſt; and three conſecrated banners were hung upon it [23]. Great confidence was repoſed by the ſoldiers in this holy ſtandard; and they flattered themſelves that it's ſpiritual efficacy would ſo far correſpond with their martial efforts, as to enſure them a victory over their impious enemies, who had polluted their churches with bloodſhed and ſacrilege, and had forfeited the favor of the Omnipotent by the horrid enormities of their late devaſtations.

During the rendezvous of the Engliſh forces at York, Thurſtan, the aged prelate of that dioceſe, ad-

23. This ſtandard acquired ſuch reputation from the ſucceſs which attended the combatants who fought under it, that the enſuing engagement was denominated the battle of the Standard.

dreſſed

dreſſed them in a ſpirited harangue, in which he chiefly appealed to the ſuperſtition of his hearers. The religious impreſſions which their minds had received from his exhortations, were ſtrengthened by a ſolemn faſt; after which they prepared for marching againſt the enemy. Advancing towards the northern parts of Yorkſhire, they encamped at Cuton-Moor, near North-Allerton. Animated by an oration which Walter Eſpec, a nobleman of great merit and influence, delivered to them from the carriage that contained the ſtandard, as well as by a ſhort ſpeech from the biſhop of the Orkneys, whom the venerable Thurſtan had ſent into the field as his ſuffragan and repreſentative, they waited, with a firm countenance, the attack of the foe [24]. A. D. 1138.

The Gallovidians, who, in their mode of combat, and military weapons, reſembled the ancient Britons, from whom they were deſcended, commenced the battle with a very impetuous charge on the Engliſh ſpearmen, who were unable to ſuſtain the ſhock; but theſe undiſciplined aſſailants were ſoon repulſed by the heavy-armed troops, who compoſed the main body of their adverſaries. Their diſorder was augmented by a furious diſcharge of miſſiles from the Engliſh archers, which fell with great effect on warriors who had no defenſive armour but leathern bucklers. The death of their two chiefs completed their rout; but before they were reduced to extremities, Henry, the ſon of David, advanced to their aid with the ſecond line of the Scottiſh army, and attacked the enemy with ſuch vigor, that he broke through a part of their phalanx, and even penetrated to a body of cavalry poſted in their rear; but not being well ſeconded by the whole of his line, he was unable to avail himſelf of the conſternation Aug. 22.

24. Ailredi Hiſt. Bel. Stand.—Hen. Huntingd.

into

A. D. 1138. into which he had thrown the bulk of the Engliſh infantry, who, quickly recovering from their confuſion, renewed their efforts for victory, and attacked the third line of the Scots, by whom ſo weak a reſiſtance was made that their ſovereign found it neceſſary to come forward with his *corps de reſerve*, conſiſting of the forces of the Low-lands, ſome of his chief nobility, and a party of Engliſh and Norman knights. But the defeat of the three great diviſions of his army ſo diſcouraged the remainder, that they deemed it prudent to aim at a ſafe retreat, notwithſtanding the reluctance of the king to any meaſure which might ſeem to be dictated by fear. A great number of the routed Scots, who had retired from the field at different times, gradually reached his ſtandard, and formed a ſtrong body, on which the purſuers could make no impreſſion. Of thoſe, however, who had not an opportunity of joining the king's corps, but fled in detached parties through the northern counties, the majority were maſſacred by the inhabitants. David arrived in ſafety at Carliſle, where he was afterwards joined by his ſon, the uncertainty of whoſe fate, for two days, had involved the affectionate father in the greateſt anxiety [25].

The

25. The number of the Scottiſh army, in this battle, is ſaid to have amounted to 26,000 men, of whom 10,000 are reported to have loſt their lives either in the engagement or in the flight, while the Engliſh ſuſtained a very trivial loſs.—Buchanan repreſents the Scots as having obtained a ſignal victory at Allerton, and ſuffered a great defeat ſoon afterwards near the banks of the Tees. But the accounts of Ailred of Rieyaulx, Richard and John of Hexham, Henry of Huntingdon, and other Engliſh authors who lived much nearer thoſe times than any Scottiſh writer who has deſcribed the battle of the Standard, and other events of the ſame war, ſeem to be entitled (after allowing for occaſional exaggeration) to more credit than the narratives given of this war by Buchanan and other hiſtorians of Scotland. The victory ſtated

The Scots, not diſmayed by their late diſcomfiture, blockaded the caſtle of Wark, which was at length reduced and demoliſhed. At the interceſſion, however, of the biſhop of Oſtia, who had been ſent into Britain as the papal legate to the kings of England and Scotland, a truce was agreed on between the two nations; and, by the importunities of Stephen's queen, who was niece to David, the armiſtice was improved into a peace, which the Engliſh monarch, that he might diminiſh the number of his enemies, ſuffered to be concluded on terms more favorable to the Scots than he would have been inclined to permit, if his internal affairs had been in a tranquil ſtate. He conſented, after a great victory, which might have encouraged him to treat with an air of ſuperiority, to cede that province which, before the war, he had poſitively refuſed to relinquiſh. Though the claim of prince Henry of Scotland to the earldom of Northumberland was ill-founded, as his grand-father Waltheof, in whoſe right he demanded it, had been attainted, Stephen ceded that whole county in fief to the young prince, except the two towns and fortreſſes of Bamborough and Newcaſtle, for which deductions, however, ſome manors in the ſouth of England were aſſigned to him [26].

A. D. 1138.

A. D. 1139.

After the ſignature of this treaty, prince Henry, now earl of Northumberland, repaired with his couſin,

ſtated by Buchanan to have been gained by the Scots at Allerton, appears to have been no other than the defeat of a ſmall body of Engliſh at Clitheroe by the Gallovidian detachment, magnified into a general action, with the addition of ſeveral erroneous particulars; and the great ſlaughter which he acknowledges the Scots to have received near the Tees, may be ſuppoſed to refer to the battle of North-Allerton, though he has mentioned that town as the ſcene of the Scottiſh triumph. Indeed, his whole account of this war may be eaſily proved to be confuſed and inaccurate, both in point of circumſtance, time, and place.

26. Ric. Haguſtald. col. 330.—Johan. Haguſtald. Contin. Hiſt. Sim. Dun. col. 265.

the

A. D. 1139. the queen of England, to Stephen's court at Nottingham, and did homage to him for that county. He then accompanied that monarch to the ſiege of Ludlow caſtle, which the adherents of the empreſs held againſt her competitor; and, in one of the aſſaults, he was reſcued from imminent danger of captivity by the active valor of Stephen. The ſtrength of the fortreſs baffling all the efforts of the aſſailants, the king formed a blockade about the place, and directed his courſe to Oxford, where he ſummoned a national council, which became memorable for the violent proceedings that took place during the ſeſſion[27].

The general liberty of fortification had produced it's full effect, in the great increaſe of caſtles; and the king began to perceive the weakneſs of his conduct, in having permitted, on any pretence, the erection of ſo many fortreſſes, which, he might have foreſeen, would operate as an encouragement not only to the independent ſpirit of the haughty barons, but as a *ſtimulus* to the ſecret friends of the empreſs to fortify their dwellings for her ſervice. Theſe conſequences he had already felt; and he had endeavoured to obviate them by the occaſional impriſonment of thoſe whom he ſuſpected of diſloyalty, and by ſtipulating the forfeiture of their caſtles as the price of their liberation. His jealouſy had been particularly excited by the very ſtrong and ſtately fortreſſes which Roger biſhop of Saliſbury had lately erected at Sherborn and the Deviſes, in addition to his original caſtle in his epiſcopal city; and the royal ſuſpicions had not been diminiſhed by the ſimilar ſtructures which that prelate's nephew Alexander, who enjoyed the biſhopric of Lincoln, had built at Sleaford and Newark. In conſideration of his

27. Hen. Huntingd. lib. viii.—Chron. Gervaſ. edit. Twyſd. col. 1345.

ſervices

ſervices in promoting the elevation of Stephen to the throne, Roger had procured from that prince a grant of the town of Malmſbury for himſelf, the poſt of chancellor of the realm for his natural ſon of the ſame name, and that of high treaſurer for his nephew Nigel, biſhop of Ely. The great power and opulence of this family had arouſed the envy of the nobles, ſome of whom inſinuated to the king, that the biſhop of Saliſbury and his relatives had ſtrengthened and garriſoned their caſtles in behalf of the empreſs. Stephen affected to give credit to theſe accuſations, though grounded only on rumor and ſurmiſe, and probably originating in direct falſehood. He ſummoned the biſhop, with his ſon and nephews, to attend the council at Oxford; an order which they reluctantly obeyed. Soon after their arrival in that city, a tumult (which is ſaid by ſome cotemporary authors to have been deſignedly kindled by Walleran earl of Meulant, and other friends of Stephen) aroſe between the attendants of Alain count of Bretagne, and the vaſſals of the biſhop and his family. After a ſkirmiſh, in which a knight was killed, and many perſons received wounds, the count's retinue were put to flight. Stephen pretended to feel a high degree of reſentment at the inſult thus offered to his royal dignity, by a breach of the peace within the boundaries of his court; and, alleging that the retainers of the biſhop of Saliſbury were the aggreſſors, commanded the arreſt of that prelate and his relations. He and his nephew Alexander, with his ſon the chancellor, were immediately apprehended; but the biſhop of Ely effected his eſcape to the Deviſes [28].

A. D. 1139.

June 24.

The king intimated to his priſoners, that they might avoid a proſecution for the late riot, by ſurrendering

28. Ord. Vital. lib. xiii.—Geſt. Steph. auct. anon. apud Ducheſne, p. 944, 945.—Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii.

their

A. D. 1139. their caſtles into his hands. This demand being rejected, Stephen ſent William d'Ypres to beſiege the caſtle of the Deviſes, to which place he ſoon followed his favorite general. To terrify the biſhop of Ely into a ſurrender of that important fortreſs, his uncle of Saliſbury was condemned to a total privation of food, till the caſtle ſhould be yielded; and it was alſo announced to the epiſcopal commandant, that, if he ſhould not deliver up the keys within three days, his couſin the chancellor ſhould be hanged before the walls. The danger of Nigel's relations, enforced by the entreaties of the chancellor's mother, prevailed on him to ſurrender at the ſpecified time. The king then procured, by menaces of the like violence, the delivery of the caſtles of Sarum and Sherborn, as well as that of Malmſbury, which the old biſhop had not yet finiſhed. The biſhop of Lincoln being conducted to Newark and Sleaford, was threatened by Stephen with a death of hunger, in caſe of a long reſiſtance from his vaſſals who garriſoned thoſe caſtles. The defendants were at firſt inclined to diſregard the eventual fate of the biſhop; but his tears and ſupplications at length won them to a ſurrender. The captive prelates, and the chancellor, were then reſtored to their liberty; but the biſhop of Saliſbury ſo keenly regretted the loſs of his ample treaſures, which the king had ſeiſed in his caſtles, that his grief accelerated his death[29]. His fate was little lamented; for, though Stephen's arbitrary and violent conduct in this buſineſs, and his ingratitude to a prelate whoſe influence had eminently contributed to his acquiſition of the crown, met with the condemnation of all moderate and impartial men, the glaring perfidy of the biſhop, and his renunciation of the

29. Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.—Hoved. p. 277.

deareſt

dearest interests of the late king, to whom he was more indebted than any other person in the kingdom, seemed to merit a reverse of fortune. A. D. 1139.

Great were the clamors which these proceedings of the king excited, particularly among the clerical part of the community, whom, in consideration of their great power, and their merits in promoting his usurpation, he ought to have been very scrupulous of offending. His own brother, the bishop of Winchester, who had been invested by the pope with the character of his legate in ordinary for the kingdom of England, assembled an ecclesiastical council to take cognisance of Stephen's late measures, and even summoned that prince before him to answer for his conduct. The king, willing, by an appearance of submission, to avert the displeasure of the clergy, did not resent the citation, but condescended to employ an advocate to plead his cause; and, after violent debates in the synod, Stephen's representative having appealed to the court of Rome from the authority of this convocation, the legate immediately dissolved it [30].

The endeavours of the clergy were now directed to the encouragement of that revolt which had already commenced in the kingdom. They exclaimed against the tyranny and impiety of the king, exaggerated his violations of his charter, and recapitulated the various calamities which the nation had suffered under his government. The propagation of discontent stimulated the hopes of the empress and her brother Robert, who, having sent the proscribed earl of Devon into England to animate their partisans, prepared to follow him thither. Leaving the count of Anjou to prosecute his conquests in Normandy, which he had again invaded on the expiration of his truce with Sept. 30.

30. Ric. Hagust. col. 337.—Malmsb. Hist. Nov.

A. D. 1139. Stephen, they embarked for this kingdom, and landed at Arundel, with a force conſiſting only of 140 knights [31], which, they had good reaſon to think, would ſoon be greatly increaſed. They were admitted Sept. 30. into the caſtle of that town, by the favor of Adelina, the queen-dowager, who, ſince the death of Henry, had given her hand to William d'Albiney, earl of Suſſex; and who, out of regard to the memory of her deceaſed conſort, had entertained a ſecret correſpondence with her daughter-in-law. The earl of Gloceſter, intruſting the empreſs to the protection of Adelina, ventured, with a train of about twenty perſons, to undertake a journey to his own caſtle of Briſtol, through a part of the country which was principally in the king's intereſts. He was met in his progreſs by Brian Fitz-Comte, lord of Wallingford, who, with a conſiderable party of ſoldiers, eſcorted him to Briſtol, where he was welcomed with the general joy of the garriſon [32].

The king had no ſooner received information of the landing of the earl and his ſiſter, than he raiſed the ſiege of Marlborough, and began his march towards Arundel, inſpired with the hopes of cruſhing the revolt by ſecuring the perſons of his competitor and her powerful partiſan. On his approach to the caſtle, he learned the departure of earl Robert, whom he immediately purſued, but without ſucceſs. Inveſting the fortreſs of Arundel, he preſſed the ſiege with ſuch vigor, as to alarm the queen-dowager, who ſent a meſſage to him, diſclaiming all intentions of diſloyalty, and repreſenting her entertainment of Matilda as the mere fruit of hoſpitality, and the natural conſequence of former friendſhip and affinity. She entreated the king to deſiſt from beſieging her habitation, to pay ſome regard to

31. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii. Geſt. Steph. p. 946.

32. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov.—

the

the ties of conſanguinity which connected him with the empreſs, and to permit that princeſs to retire in ſafety to her brother. The biſhop of Wincheſter, prompted perhaps by a ſpirit of treachery, adviſed Stephen to comply with this requeſt, alleging that it would be more eaſy to ſubdue his two great opponents when they had formed a junction, than to reduce them while their ſtrength was ſo ſeparated as to occaſion a diverſion of his force. The king, convinced by theſe ſuggeſtions, or actuated by the romantic gallantry of the times, renounced the proſpect of an eaſy capture of the perſon whoſe aim was to deprive him of his crown; and, not content with relinquiſhing an advantage which might perhaps have enabled him to extinguiſh the rebellion with facility, he even conſented that ſhe ſhould be eſcorted, by a detachment of his own troops, to a part of the country in which her influence greatly predominated. After he had given his aſſent to a propoſal which ſo ſtrongly militated againſt his political intereſts, the honor of chivalry induced him to adhere to his plighted faith, though, in his general conduct, he teſtified little reſpect for the obligations of oaths and promiſes. He ordered his brother of Wincheſter, and his favorite miniſter, the earl of Meulant, to attend the empreſs, and deliver her into the hands of the earl of Gloceſter[33]. That nobleman met her at the appointed place, and conducted her to Briſtol, whence ſhe ſoon removed to the caſtle of Gloceſter, where ſhe reſided above a twelvemonth, under the protection of Milo Fitz-Walter, governor of that fortreſs, and hereditary conſtable of the realm, from whoſe opulence the expences of her houſehold were ſupplied.

A. D. 1139.

33. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii. — Geſt. Steph. p. 946. — Ann. Waverl. p. 153.

A. D. 1139. The flames of civil war now raged with redoubled violence. The arrival of the empreſs influenced many of thoſe barons who had hitherto concealed their ſentiments, to throw off the maſk, and take arms in her favor. The king, unappalled by the danger of his ſituation, was conſtantly engaged in martial enterpriſes, which were attended with various ſucceſs. His great antagoniſt, the earl of Gloceſter, was equally active in his attempts for the ſervice of Matilda. As the tranſactions of this war chiefly conſiſted of the ſieges of caſtles, and petty engagements in the neighbourhood of thoſe fortreſſes, a circumſtantial narrative would be wholly unintereſting. It may be obſerved, however, that the calamities ariſing from theſe inteſtine hoſtilities were felt throughout the whole kingdom. Conflagration, ſlaughter, and rapine, pervaded every quarter: the peaceful inhabitants were indiſcriminately maltreated by both parties: the tyrants of the caſtles ravaged the country, plundered the towns and villages, and compelled the people, by the moſt inhuman tortures, to give up all the money which they poſſeſſed. This general inſecurity produced a neglect of agriculture; and a conſequent famine added the extinction of multitudes to the numbers whom the ſword had deſtroyed [34].

A. D. 1140.

Both the king and the earl of Gloceſter exerted their utmoſt influence and authority to prevent the cruelties and devaſtations committed by their reſpective partiſans; but the generality of the barons diſdained all control, and many of them endeavoured to ſhake off all dependence either on the reigning ſovereign, or his competitor, and affected a total diſregard of the laws and conſtitution of the realm. They coined money in their own names, and exerciſed other acts of regality [35];

34. Geſt. Steph. p. 948.—Chron. Sax. p. 238.—Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.
35. Gul. Neubrigenſ. lib. i.—Chron. Hemingf. lib. i.

and,

and, of thoſe who pretended to enliſt under the banners of Stephen or of Matilda, few were inſpired with a real attachment for either, but, under the diſguiſe of a public cauſe, wreaked revenge on the objects of their private hatred, and aimed at the gratification of their lawleſs appetites of avarice and ambition. A. D. 1140.

An attempt was made by the biſhop of Wincheſter to put an end to theſe calamities, by an accommodation between the king and the empreſs; but the latter, by propoſing to ſubmit the diſpute to the arbitration of the church, ſtopped the progreſs of the negotiation, as Stephen, conſcious of his having drawn upon himſelf the reſentment of the clergy, could not expect from them an impartial deciſion. The legate, however, ſtill affected a deſire of peace; and, making a voyage to the continent, conferred with his brother, the earl of Blois, on the ſubject, as well as with Lewis the Younger, king of France, who had ſucceeded his father Lewis the Groſs three years before, and who had lately executed the intentions of his predeceſſor by giving the princeſs Conſtance in marriage to Stephen's ſon Euſtace. He returned to England with ſuch propoſitions of peace, as were acceptable to the empreſs; but, being repugnant to the inclinations of the king, they were not applied as remedies for the diſorders of the country [36].

An event which occurred ſoon after theſe abortive negotiations, gave a new aſpect to the ſcene of turbulence and horror. Stephen with-holding from William de Roumara, earl of Lincoln, the caſtle of that town, which he claimed as an appendage of his earldom, this nobleman reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of gaining poſſeſſion of it. In concert with his uterine brother, Ralph earl of Cheſter, he took by ſurpriſe the fortreſs which he had claimed; and, the

36. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii.

A. D. 1140. royal garriſon being expelled, the two earls removed their families into it, with a view of reſidence. The king's influence being ſtrong among the citizens of Lincoln, intelligence was privately ſent to him, that the two brothers lived in ſuch an unguarded manner, and with ſo little ſuſpicion of any hoſtile attempt, as to render the reduction of the caſtle a point of eaſy attainment. Aſſembling his forces without delay, he ſoon appeared at Lincoln, and inveſted the citadel in the midſt of winter. The earl of Cheſter, eſcaping from the for-

A. D. 1141. treſs, arrived ſafely in his own county, where he muſtered his vaſſals, and added to them a body of Welſh. He then ſolicited the earl of Gloceſter, whoſe daughter he had married, to aſſiſt him in relieving his friends at Lincoln; promiſing to atone for his former neutrality by his future zeal in the cauſe of the empreſs. Robert, eager to fix the two earls in the intereſts of Matilda, anxious for the ſafety of his own daughter, and deſirous of making an effort to bring the war to a cloſe, collected a ſtrong body of forces; and being joined by his ſon-in-law, marched towards Lincoln. Surpriſed, but not alarmed, at the approach of his great enemy, Stephen prepared for a deciſive action. He formed the bulk of his army into a cloſe phalanx, conſiſting ſolely of infantry; and ſtationed his cavalry in two wings. The earl of Gloceſter arranged his troops in four diviſions; one of which was chiefly compoſed of perſons whom Stephen had deprived of their honors and eſtates, and who were conſequently inflamed to vengeance by private animoſity. Theſe took the field as horſemen, and formed a wing of the earl's army: the other wing alſo, for the moſt part, comprehended cavalry, under the command of the earl of Cheſter. That diviſion which was conducted by Robert himſelf, included a large body of infantry, and con-

conſtituted the ſtrength of his hoſt. The fourth line conſiſted of Welſh, whom, as little dependence could be placed on their undiſciplined courage in a pitched battle, he poſted at a diſtance, on the outſide of the earl of Cheſter's wing. The engagement was commenced by the diſinherited cavaliers, who, furiouſly attacking one of Stephen's wings, ſoon put their opponents to flight. At the ſame time, William d'Ypres, at the head of the other wing of the royaliſts, gained the advantage over the Welſh; but, purſuing them in a diſorderly manner, he was attacked by earl Ralph, and received an entire defeat. The two victorious wings, without loſing time in the purſuit of the diviſions which they had routed, joined the earl of Gloceſter in ſurrounding Stephen's central body. The courage and experience of the ſoldiers who formed this phalanx, preſerved it long unbroken; till, at length, the earl of Cheſter, having ordered his men to diſmount, ruſhed towards the part where Stephen was combating on foot with extraordinary valor, and attacked that prince with great impetuoſity, from whom, however, he received ſo violent a blow on his helmet, that he fell to the ground in a ſtate of inſenſibility. The king continued to animate his followers by his example; but, his battle-axe and ſword being ſucceſſively broken, and he himſelf being beaten down by a ſtone, a knight, named William de Kains, ſeiſed him, though he refuſed to ſurrender to any one except the earl of Gloceſter. Stephen's captivity completed the victory of that nobleman, which he obtained without much ſlaughter on either ſide. The city of Lincoln was plundered by the conquerors; and the royal priſoner, after having undergone the ceremony of an introduction to the empreſs, who ſtill reſided at Gloceſter, was confined in the caſtle of Briſtol, where he was at firſt ſubjected to no inconve-

A. D. 1141.

Feb. 2.

A. D. 1141. nience which might aggravate or embitter the loſs of his liberty; but, on a report of his having attempted to eſcape, he was ignominiouſly loaded with fetters, and guarded with great vigilance [37].

The capture of the king, and the conſequent depreſſion of his adherents, appeared to promiſe a ſpeedy ſubjection of the realm to the ſway of the empreſs. Encouraged by the ſubmiſſions of the nobility, whom the late victory brought to her in great numbers, ſhe ſent a meſſage to the legate, requeſting him to induct her into the poſſeſſion of the crown, to which, by inheritance, as well as by the repeated oaths both of the ſpiritual and temporal barons, ſhe had an indubitable right. That prelate had for ſome time relaxed in his ſupport of Stephen, whom he had in vain endeavoured to render ſubſervient to the church; and there is no doubt of his having invited Matilda to aſſert her title. Notwithſtanding this deſertion of his brother's intereſts, he did not carry his reſentment ſo far as to wiſh for the utter ruin of that prince, and therefore regretted the late unfortunate change in his affairs. But the triumph of Matilda's party induced him to temporiſe, and to negotiate for himſelf the moſt favorable terms with that princeſs. After ſeveral meſſages had paſſed between the empreſs and this ambitious prelate, a Mar. 3. public conference took place near Wincheſter, in an open plain. Amidſt a great concourſe of clergy and laity, Matilda declared, upon oath, that, if he and the church would receive her as ſovereign, and preſerve a perpetual fidelity to her, he ſhould enjoy the direction of every important national concern, and, in particular, ſhould have the entire diſpoſal of eccleſiaſtical dignities [38]. The earl of Gloceſter, Brian Fitz-Comte,

37. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii.—Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.—Chron. Gervaſ.—Johan. Haguſt.

38. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii.

Milo

Milo Fitz-Walter, and other principal nobles of her party, guaranteed the oath which ſhe had taken. The legate, without further heſitation, acknowledged her ſovereignty, and ſwore that he would be faithful to her as long as ſhe ſhould adhere to her engagements. Some of his friends making a ſimilar declaration, the ſolemnity cloſed for that day; and, on the following morning, Matilda was gratified with the poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Wincheſter, in which the *regalia* of the kingdom were depoſited. Orders being iſſued for proclaiming her queen of England [39], ſhe went in ſolemn proceſſion to the cathedral; where, after the celebration of divine ſervice, the legate, in general terms, pronounced a curſe on all her enemies, and a bleſſing on all her friends, abſolved thoſe who were obedient to her, and excommunicated all who refuſed to recogniſe her authority. From Wincheſter ſhe made a progreſs to Wilton, where ſhe received the homage of Theobald the primate, though not before he had obtained the conſent of the impriſoned king to transfer his allegiance. Proceeding to Oxford, ſhe procured the ſurrender of the caſtle, and ſolemniſed the feſtival of Eaſter in that city with great magnificence. A. D. 1141.

Eager to diſplay his zeal in the ſupport of Matilda's claim, the biſhop of Wincheſter, by virtue of his legatine function, convened a ſynod in his epiſcopal city. The firſt day of the meeting was conſumed in private conferences between the legate and the different members of the convocation; but, on the ſucceeding day, he harangued them in an elaborate ſpeech. He panegyriſed the government of his deceaſed uncle Henry; reminded his auditors of the oaths which had been taken by the ſtates of the realm in favor of the ſucceſſion of that monarch's daughter; repreſented the April 7.

39. Geſt. Steph. p. 954.

delay

A. D. 1141. delay of her journey to England as the cauſe of his brother's mounting the throne, that the peace of the realm might not be diſturbed by an *inter-regnum*; exaggerated the miſconduct, the tyranny, the injuſtice, the impiety, of Stephen; ſtated the neceſſity of ſupplying the vacancy occaſioned by the captivity of that prince; and concluded with obſerving, that, as the majority of the Engliſh clergy, "to whom the election of a ſovereign principally belonged," had yeſterday communicated their ſentiments to him on this ſubject, he was authoriſed to declare, that the aſſembly had thought proper to elect the daughter of "the pacific, "glorious, rich, good, and incomparable king" Henry, to be the ſovereign of England and Normandy, to whom they promiſed their fidelity and ſupport [40].

The importance of London, as the metropolis of the kingdom, having induced the legate to ſummon deputies from that city to the council, that their aſſent might be obtained to the recognition of Matilda, they arrived on the third day of the ſeſſion, and intimated to the aſſembly, that they had not come with a view of debate, but to petition that the king might be reſtored to his liberty; which, they ſaid, their whole community, including the barons who had been admitted into it, earneſtly entreated the council to effect. The legate, in anſwer to this requeſt, repeated the ſubſtance of his late ſpeech, and reproved the Londoners for having taken part with the evil counſellors of the king. A letter from Stephen's queen was then read by her chaplain, conjuring the clergy in general, and the biſhop of Wincheſter in particular, to re-eſtabliſh their ſovereign on his throne; to which requiſition a negative reply was made. The ſynod met again the next day; and, after a ſentence of excommunication had

40. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii.

been

been fulminated againſt many of Stephen's adherents, the meeting was diſſolved[41]. A. D. 1141.

The farce of Matilda's late election, in which a papal legate, and the clergy under his influence, pretended to diſpoſe of the ſovereignty of England and Normandy, without the concurrence of a ſingle individual of the laity, (for the deputies of London, the only laymen who were preſent, oppoſed the meaſure), had a conſiderable effect in bringing over the Engliſh nation to the acknowledgment of her claim. The inhabitants of Kent, however, were encouraged by Stephen's queen, and by William d'Ypres, who had been inveſted with the earldom of that county, to continue firm in their loyalty to the captive king. The citizens of London alſo retained their wonted attachment to that prince; and above two months elapſed from the diſſolution of the late ſynod before they would conſent to receive his triumphant couſin. When the influence of the earl of Gloceſter had conciliated their promiſes of allegiance to his ſiſter, ſhe made a magnificent entry into their city, accompanied by her uncle the king of Scotland. She immediately began to make preparations for her coronation; but that ceremony was prevented by a ſudden change in her circumſtances[42].

Her own miſconduct was the great cauſe of her ruin. Haughty and imperious in her diſpoſition, ſhe was deſtitute of that complacency and affability which are highly expedient for the purpoſes of the head of a party, and particularly neceſſary for the maintenance of authority and influence, at a time when the intereſts of a powerful rival are exerted to gain over the adherents of his adverſary. At ſuch a period, every ſeceſſion of a friend is a double diſadvantage to the deſerted party; and the moſt cautious and politic conduct ought,

41. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii. 42. Geſt. Steph.—Hen. Hunt.

therefore,

A. D. 1141. therefore, to be adopted by those who wish to retain the benefits which they have procured by a revolution. Matilda, however, was too weak and inconsiderate to pursue the maxims even of ordinary prudence, at a crisis so momentous as the present, when her power was precarious and unsettled. Elate with her triumph over the prince by whom she had been supplanted, she did not affect to observe any moderation in her behaviour. She treated such as submitted to her with coolness and reserve, and frequently assailed them with menace and reproach. From many of these, she exacted a part of their lands, by way of punishment for their delinquency in having so long adhered to the usurper. She revoked, with rigorous precipitation, all the grants which Stephen had made, either to the church or to laic individuals. With the same impolitic haste, she confiscated the estates of all the barons who still declined submission; and, by thus rendering desperate those who, by lenity and forbearance, might have been won to her side, she encouraged the continuance of an opposition which she might easily have suppressed. In these and other imprudent proceedings, she acted in perverse opposition to the counsels of the earl her brother, and the king her uncle, whose exertions in her support demanded her gratitude, and whose abilities, judgment, and experience, so superior to her own, had a just claim to her respect and attention [43].

To the citizens of the capital, whom, on account of their political consequence, and their great affection for her competitor, it was her interest to treat with peculiar courtesy and conciliation, she behaved with arrogance and disdain. They petitioned her to make a temporary abatement in their taxes, in consideration not only of the decline of their trade amidst the horrors

43. Gest. Steph p. 954.

of

of a civil war, but of the frequent demands which had been made upon them by the late government for ſupplies. She received the petitioners with great haughtineſs, upbraided them with their laviſh grants to her enemies, and gave them to underſtand, that their hopes of any relief in point of taxation would not be gratified. When they requeſted a longer time for the payment of a large ſum which ſhe had required of them, ſhe ſternly refuſed compliance, and diſmiſſed them from her preſence with every indication of feminine wrath [44]. She alſo rejected, in the moſt ungracious manner, the ſolicitations of the citizens for the re-eſtabliſhment of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, in lieu of thoſe which the late king Henry had enacted [45]. A. D. 1141.

While the efforts of Stephen's conſort ſtill retained the provincials of Kent in their ſentiments of loyalty to her huſband, that amiable princeſs bitterly lamented his captivity, and reſolved to make application to the empreſs for his liberty. She propoſed, as the conditions of his releaſe, that he ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the crown which he had worn, and retire into a foreign monaſtery, or embark in a cruſade to the Holy Land: but theſe ſtipulations, though recommended by ſome of the firſt nobility, who offered to guarantee ſuch a convention, were peremptorily rejected by the empreſs [46]. In the ſame ſpirit of uncompliance, ſhe refuſed her aſſent to a requeſt made by the biſhop of Wincheſter, for the grant of the earldom of Mortagne to the eldeſt ſon of Stephen. The refuſal of beſtowing on the ſon ſo inconſiderable a part of the father's late poſſeſſions, concurring with other inſtances of her unaccommodating temper, diſguſted the

44. Geſt. Steph. p. 954. 45. Continuat. Flor. Vigorn.
46. Geſt. Steph.—Contin. Flor. Vig.

legate;

A. D. 1141. legate; and the general diſcontent which her arbitrary conduct had excited, flattered him with the proſpect of recovering the throne for his brother. Inſpired with theſe ſentiments, he withdrew himſelf from the court of the ſovereign whom he had ſo lately acknowledged, and began to deviſe the moſt effectual means of undermining her intereſts.

In the mean time, Stephen's queen had recourſe to active meaſures againſt the new government. She directed William d'Ypres to ravage the country in the vicinity of London; an order which was executed with ſucceſs, and without oppoſition from the adherents of the empreſs. By her private emiſſaries, ſhe ſtimulated the Londoners to a revolt; and, as their new ſovereign's rejection of their reaſonable requeſts, and her ſevere exactions, had entailed on her the hatred of the citizens, many of them entered into a conſpiracy for the ſeiſure of her perſon. Of this plot ſhe was informed by a friend; and her apprehenſions of it's execution influenced her to quit the palace of Weſtminſter, in which ſhe had lately kept her court, and retire to a place of greater ſecurity. Accompanied by the Scottiſh king, her brother Robert, and other perſons of diſtinction, ſhe repaired to Oxford; while the citizens, diſappointed of their grand aim, plundered the palace which ſhe had left [47].

The legate, who was probably concerned in the conſpiracy, was very aſſiduous in fomenting, by his agents, a general revolt from the empreſs, whom he accuſed of having violated the engagements to which ſhe had ſworn, and of being unacquainted with the art of exerciſing her power with moderation. In concert with his brother's queen, he planned meaſures for the ſpeedy reſtoration of Stephen. The earl of Gloceſter,

47. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii.—Geſt. Steph.—Chron. Gervaſ.

ſuſpecting

ſuſpecting his intentions, paid him a viſit at Wincheſter, and found him totally averſe to the future ſervice of the empreſs. When he had made his report to his ſiſter, ſhe haſtened to that city with an army, in hopes of ſurpriſing the time-ſerving prelate; but, hearing of her approach, he ſecured himſelf in his own caſtle, which was ſtrong and well-garriſoned. She took her ſtation in the citadel of the ſame place, and ſummoned her partiſans to her aſſiſtance, that ſhe might reduce the rebellious legate to ſubmiſſion. To oppoſe the attempts of the empreſs, who had formed the ſiege of his fortreſs, he ſent meſſengers to various parts of the kingdom, inviting all who retained any affection for their fettered prince, to ſupport his cauſe againſt his enemies. The diſaffection of the people to Matilda was now fully diſplayed, in the appearance of a formidable army of royaliſts at Wincheſter. The wife of Stephen marched thither with the militia of Kent and a ſtrong body of Londoners. The majority of the nobles, renouncing the party of the empreſs, arrived with their vaſſals to teſtify their returning favor to her rival; and the mercenaries, rejoiced at an opportunity of reſtoring their generous maſter, attended William d'Ypres to the place of rendezvous [48]. A. D. 1141.

The royaliſts, who were greatly ſuperior in number to the enemy, endeavoured to block up all the avenues by which proviſions could be conveyed to the troops of the empreſs. The inhabitants of Wincheſter being attached to her intereſts, the biſhop's garriſon threw wild-fire upon their buildings; and the conflagration ſpread to ſuch an extent, as to reduce to aſhes a great part of the city. The forces of Matilda beginning to feel the attacks of famine, her brother reſolved to build a fort near the monaſtery of Wherwell, to facilitate

48. Geſt. Steph. p. 955.—Ann. Waverl. p. 154.

A. D. 1141. the introduction of provisions into Winchester. But the detachment which he employed in the execution of this design, met with a powerful obstruction from the arms of William d'Ypres, who, after a successful skirmish with the corps, drove the fugitives into the church belonging to the monastery, and setting fire to that structure, burned or took prisoners all who had fled to it [49].

After six weeks had passed from the commencement of the siege of the citadel, which the royalists had invested on their arrival at Winchester, both parties became weary of so tedious a mode of hostility; and the blockade was peculiarly distressful to the adherents of Matilda, who, by the vigilance of the royal forces, were reduced to a great scarcity of subsistence. That princess dreaded the idea of surrendering to her besiegers; and finding, that, if she should continue in the citadel, she must either perish by famine, or fall into the power of her adversaries, she resolved to hazard an escape. The legate, on the other hand, wished for an opportunity of drawing out her army from the town and fort, that a general action might ensue, of the success of which the superiority of his force removed all doubts from his mind. On the eve of the festival of the holy cross, he proclaimed a cessation of hostilities till the end of the following day, according to the custom of those times. Early in the morning of that anniversary, the empress, escorted by the king of Scotland, her natural brother Reginald earl of Cornwall, and the greater part of her troops, retreated from Winchester with such celerity as secured her escape to Ludgershall. But the earl of Gloucester, who followed the main body with a small corps of select warriors, was not so fortunate as to avoid an engagement with

49. Malmsb. Hist. Nov.—Contin. Flor. Vig.

the

the royaliſts, who attacked him at Stockbridge, overpowered him by numbers, and took him priſoner[50]. Being committed to the cuſtody of William d'Ypres, he was conveyed to Rocheſter, and impriſoned in the caſtle; while his ſiſter, arriving at the Deviſes exhauſted with the fatigue of traveling on horſeback, was conducted in a litter to Gloceſter, where ſhe was joined by her confidential friend Milo, whom ſhe had promoted to the earldom of Hereford, and who, with ſingular difficulty, had eſcaped the danger of captivity. A. D. 1141.

Earl Robert endured his confinement with philoſophic fortitude. The friends of Stephen practiſed every art of conciliation to bring him over to their party, and endeavoured to ſhake, by magnificent offers, his fidelity to the empreſs. But they found his integrity too firm to yield to temptation. At another time, they menaced him with perpetual impriſonment, if he would not conſent to deſert his ſiſter. Theſe and other threats had no greater effect than the blandiſhments with which his conſtancy had been aſſailed. He had before rejected the propoſal of Stephen's queen, importing that he ſhould be exchanged for that prince, unleſs all his friends who had been taken with him ſhould be thrown into the ſcale, to compenſate for the diſparity of rank between a king and an earl. At length, however, he complied with the ſolicitations of his ſiſter and her chief partiſans, and conſented to be ſingly exchanged for Stephen. The king's friends demanding that he ſhould be releaſed before the earl, in compliment to his ſuperior dignity, the oppoſite party required, by way of ſecurity for the liberation of Robert, that the legate and the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould take an oath to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, if the earl ſhould not be ſet at liberty immediately after

50. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii.—Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.

A. D. 1141. the diſmiſſion of Stephen; and, in addition to this demand, they inſiſted that his queen, one of his ſons, and two of his moſt powerful adherents, ſhould be kept in confinement till the releaſe of the earl. The preliminaries being thus arranged, Stephen was reNov. 1. ſtored to his liberty, after a captivity of about nine months. Repairing to Wincheſter, he had an interview with Robert, who, having been lately removed to that city from Rocheſter, was now diſmiſſed from cuſtody. He exerted all his talents of inſinuation to win the earl to his ſide; but, to every propoſition of this kind, Robert oppoſed the barrier of inflexible honor [51].

51. Geſt. Steph.—Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The civil war is renewed.—The empreſs accompliſhes a wonderful eſcape from Oxford caſtle.—The king is defeated at Wilton.—The cauſe of the empreſs is greatly injured by the death of her brother the earl of Gloceſter.—The primate puts Stephen's dominions under an interdict.—The empreſs's ſon Henry is inveſted with the dukedom of Normandy.—He comes over to England with a view of wreſting the crown from Stephen;—but conſents, by treaty, to wait till that monarch's death.—Stephen does not long ſurvive the termination of civil diſſenſions.—Obſervations on his character.

THE mutual releaſe of the leaders of the two parties which divided the nation, occaſioned the relapſe of affairs into that ſtate in which they had been before the capture of Stephen. The people had begun to expect, from the triumph of Matilda's cauſe, a termination of thoſe deſtructive hoſtilities by which the kingdom had been ſo long agitated. Her diſpoſition not being generally known till ſhe had commenced the exerciſe of authority, the proſpect of a juſt and prudent government flattered the hopes of thoſe who knew the virtues and abilities of her brother Robert, and who ſuppoſed that his eminent ſervices would enſure him the firſt place in her political confidence. They did not foreſee that her underſtanding would be clouded by the intoxication of proſperity, that ſhe would deſpiſe the counſels of her ſincereſt friends and moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters, or that ſhe would alienate the minds of her new ſubjects by unſeaſonable arrogance and illiberality, by the burthen of oppreſſive exactions, and the ſeverity of rigorous proſcription. But the diſ- A. D. 1141.

A. D. 1141. satisfaction which her conduct produced, had damped the hopes of the peaceful, and inflamed the more active and spirited part of the nation to a revolt from their new sovereign. Hence arose a new series of intestine commotions, and a new train of national calamities.

Stephen having now recovered his throne, prepared to renew hostilities with fresh vigor against his rival. But the time of his restoration being at the eve of winter, it was not deemed prudent to proceed to action before the subsequent spring. In that interval, the king and his brother were employed in the encouragement of their partisans, and the augmentation of their strength. The operations of the legate were principally directed towards the clergy, whom he summoned to a public meeting at Westminster. In this synod, he read
Dec. 7. a letter which he had received from the pope, enjoining him to procure the liberty of his royal brother. Stephen then came forward, and addressing the members of the council, complained of the ingratitude of his subjects, and of the indignities which he had suffered in his imprisonment from persons who had sworn allegiance to him, and to whom he had never denied justice. All the eloquence of the legate was exerted to palliate his temporary support of Matilda, which, he alleged, was the effect of constraint, arising from the necessity of the times. Though his assertions were contradicted by a layman whom she had dispatched to the synod, who accused him of having repeatedly invited the empress into England, and of having connived at whatever had been done to the king's prejudice, he did not condescend to answer what he could not effectually confute. Having ordered the assembly, "on the part "of God and the pope," to assist the king to the utmost of their ability, he excommunicated all the adherents

rents of the "countess of Anjou," as disturbers of the peace of the nation [1]. A. D. 1141.

At the expiration of Lent, when hostilities were on the point of renewal, Stephen was seised with a violent indisposition; in consequence of which, a further armistice prevailed by tacit consent. During this cessation of the ravages of war, Matilda, with the unanimous concurrence of her principal friends, sent over envoys to the count of Anjou, to request his presence in England for the more efficacious support of his wife's pretensions, and the vindication of the rights of his family. The deputies having returned from the continent without success, as Geoffrey declared that he would treat only with the earl of Gloucester on this business, that nobleman consented to visit the count, on condition that the chief nobles of his sister's party should deliver hostages into his hands, for their faithful defence of that princess in his absence. Having received the securities which he demanded, he set sail from Wareham with a small squadron, and landing on the coast of Normandy, proceeded to Caen. A. D. 1142.

The count of Anjou had been employed for some years past in reducing the duchy to his obedience: but the efforts of Stephen's friends in that territory, and of the troops which he occasionally sent over for the preservation of it, had conspired with the Norman animosity against the Angevins, to check the rapidity of the count's conquests. Geoffrey, however, had profited by the consternation which the captivity of the king had produced among all his adherents, and had made a considerable progress in the reduction of the province, though there was still a powerful party in opposition to his interests. The archbishop of Rouen, and other Normans of rank, solicited the earl of Blois

1. Malmsb. Hist. Nov. lib. ii.—Ann. Waverl. p. 154.

A. D. 1142. to become their duke, when they heard that his brother had loſt his liberty; but he declined the offer without heſitation, and did not attempt to counteract the endeavours of the Anjevin count. The earl's neutrality operating as an encouragement to Geoffrey, he had perſiſted in his hoſtilities againſt the Normans who refuſed to ſubmit, and was thus employed when the earl of Gloceſter arrived in the duchy to requeſt his aſſiſtance in the affairs of England. In anſwer to the ſolicitations of Robert, he alleged the unſettled ſtate of his conqueſts in Normandy, which his abſence would expoſe to great danger; and informed his viſitant, that much yet remained to complete the ſubjection of that country to his ſway. Though Robert cooperated with him in enforcing the ſurrender of ten caſtles, he was ſtill averſe to all concern in the troubles of England. Perhaps he dreaded an inſurrection in Anjou, where he had already experienced occaſional diſturbances; and it is not improbable that he reſented the indifference which the Engliſh had hitherto teſtified to his perſon, and their backwardneſs in ſoliciting his interpoſition. When the earl found that he could not overcome Geoffrey's diſinclination to the perſonal maintenance of Matilda's intereſts in England, he entreated him to gratify his wife with the company of Henry, her eldeſt ſon, that the preſence of a prince to whoſe right of ſucceſſion ſo many of the Engliſh nobility had ſworn, might animate the efforts of his mother's partiſans. Geoffrey, though not without reluctance, conſented to part with his ſon, who was now about nine years of age. Robert, taking his young nephew under his care, prepared for his return to England, where ſome events of importance happened in his abſence.

The

The recovery of the king from his long illneſs was ſucceeded by the ſurrender of Wareham caſtle to his arms. Thence he marched to the northward, burned the caſtle of Cirenceſter, and reduced two fortreſſes which the empreſs had built between that town and Oxford, for the greater ſecurity of her reſidence in the latter place. He then made his appearance on the exterior banks of the Iſis, before the walls of Oxford; and having paſſed the river with his army, in the face of the enemy, who lined the oppoſite ſide, he routed his opponents, drove them back within the walls, and entered with them. His troops, elate with this ſucceſs, ſet fire to the buildings, and deſtroyed a great part of the town. He immediately formed the ſiege of the caſtle, which he expected to reduce with little difficulty, as by being maſter of the town he was enabled to prevent the empreſs from being relieved by the nobles of her party, who, though they had engaged to protect her in the abſence of the earl of Gloceſter, had ſuffered her, by their negligence, to be expoſed to imminent danger of captivity, haraſſed as ſhe was by a furious ſiege, and incommoded by a vigilant blockade. Her chief adherents, joining their forces, took their ſtation in the vicinity of Wallingford, and endeavoured to draw the king into the field; but he was ſo intent on gaining poſſeſſion of his rival's perſon, that he would not quit the town, the great ſtrength of which diſcouraged his enemies from attempting her relief [2]. A. D. 1141.

While Stephen was thus employed, the earl of Gloceſter arrived in England with prince Henry, and about 350 knights; and having recovered his caſtle of Wareham, and reduced the Iſle of Portland, ſummoned all the friends of Matilda to meet him with their vaſſals at Cirenceſter, that he might conduct them to

2. Malmſb. Hiſt. Nov. lib. ii.

A. D. 1142. Oxford for the deliverance of his diſtreſſed ſiſter, who, after a ſiege of above two months, was on the point of being compelled to ſurrender. Having ſufficiently recruited his force, the earl began his march for Oxford, with a full determination of riſquing an attack of Stephen, in ſpite of his advantage of ſituation. But the proſecution of this intention was rendered unneceſſary by the news which ſurpriſed him in his progreſs; for Dec. he was informed that the empreſs had eſcaped from her danger, and had reached Wallingford in ſafety.

The report of Robert's approach had ſtruck the royaliſts with ſuch conſternation, that many of them had gradually retired from the ſiege of Oxford caſtle; and while this ſeceſſion diminiſhed the cloſeneſs of the blockade, thoſe who remained became more negligent in watching the fortreſs than they had hitherto been, their attention being leſs employed on the circumſtances of the garriſon than on the thoughts of an engagement with the earl. Matilda, obſerving this want of caution, retreated by a poſtern gate in diſguiſe, about midnight, attended by four knights. She croſſed the river (which was then frozen) without any moleſtation from the enemy, and reaching Abingdon on foot, proceeded on horſeback to Wallingford, where her parental feelings were gratified with the embraces of her ſon Henry [3].

On the day that followed this remarkable eſcape of the empreſs, the garriſon which ſhe had left ſurrendered to Stephen on condition of a ſafe departure. Hoſtilities then ceaſed for the winter; the barons who had

3. Henry of Huntingdon, and ſome other writers, relate, that Matilda and her attendants were arrayed in white garments on this occaſion, with a view of paſſing undiſtinguiſhed through the ſnow. In the narrative of this eſcape, I have followed William of Malmſbury, of whom I am here reluctantly conſtrained to take leave, as his valuable hiſtory terminates at this point, and his death happened within a few months afterwards.

lately

lately joined Robert retiring to their reſpective habitations, and the king returning to his capital, where an eccleſiaſtical council was convoked in Lent to conſider of the means of preventing the combatants on each ſide from impeding or injuring agriculture, from plundering the churches, or mal-treating the clergy and the huſbandmen. Excommunication was denounced againſt all who offended in theſe reſpects; but little benefit ſeems to have reſulted from the promulgation of the canons of this ſynod, the rage of inteſtine war, in barbarous times, being too violent to ſubmit to the poſitive inſtitutions of law, or the natural ſentiments of humanity. A. D. 1142. A. D. 1143.

The next campaign commenced, on the part of Stephen, with a fruitleſs attempt to retake the caſtle of Wareham; a diſappointment which was revenged by the furious devaſtations of his mercenary troops over the adjacent country. Then marching into Wiltſhire, he gave orders for fortifying the nunnery of Wilton, with a view of repreſſing the predatory ſallies of the empreſs's garriſons in that quarter. While the king and the legate were ſuperintending this work, the earl of Gloceſter ſurpriſed them by his appearance in the neighbourhood; and attacking the royaliſts before they recovered from their conſternation, he gave them a total defeat. Stephen and the biſhop would, in all probability, have been made priſoners, had not William Martel, ſteward of the houſehold, oppoſed, with a ſmall force, the main body of the enemy, ſo as to afford an opportunity for the two brothers to accompliſh their eſcape, leaving the royal baggage, plate, an furniture, a prey to the victors. Martel, being taken priſoner, purchaſed his liberty by the ſurrender of the important fortreſs of Sherborn [4]. July 1.

4. Geſt. Steph. p. 959, 960.—Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.—Ann. Waverl. p. 154.

The

A. D. 1143. The fame of this victory produced the ſubmiſſion of the king's chief adherents in the Weſt; and the empreſs, in addition to the ſhires bordering on South-Wales, and thoſe parts of the principality which had been long before reduced by the Normans, found herſelf miſtreſs of all the counties which formed the ancient kingdom of Weſſex, except that of Hants. By the ſedulous attention of her brother, the provinces which acknowledged her ſovereignty enjoyed a degree of order and tranquillity unuſual amidſt the horrors of a civil war. The ſame ſecurity did not prevail in the counties poſſeſſed by Stephen, whoſe caſtellans ſtill continued to act the tyrant in their reſpective quarters. Among the nobles of the royal party who ſeemed to aim at independence, Geoffrey de Magneville, earl of Eſſex, was the moſt opulent and powerful. Before the king's captivity, he had been one of his principal ſupporters, and one of his moſt confidential friends; and though that event had inclined him to ſubmit to the empreſs, he had returned to Stephen on his reſtoration to liberty and power. Some of the courtiers, inflamed with envy at the earl's greatneſs, accuſed him to the king of an intention of transferring his great influence to the ſide of Matilda. The jealouſy of Stephen lent a ready ear to theſe inſinuations: the earl was ſeiſed by his direction, when he attended the court at St. Alban's; and being thrown into priſon, was unable to procure his releaſe without ſurrendering his caſtles of Walden and Plaiſſy in Eſſex, with the Tower of London, of which he had been intruſted with the government. Driven by theſe acts of violence into the intereſts of the empreſs, or rather into an oppoſition to Stephen, he added to his own vaſſals a deſperate band of outlaws and freebooters, at whoſe head he plundered Cambridge, and made himſelf maſter of the rich abbey of Ramſey, from which he expelled the

monks. He eſcaped the purſuit of the king, who had marched in perſon againſt him; and being joined by Hugh earl of Norfolk, he beſieged the forts which Stephen had erected in Cambridgeſhire. At the ſiege of one of theſe, he was mortally wounded; and his death delivered the king from a formidable adverſary [5]. A. D. 1143. A. D. 1144.

Ralph earl of Cheſter, who had ſo greatly contributed to the defeat of Stephen in the battle of Lincoln, had ſince that time ſo wavered between him and the empreſs, as to be of little ſervice to either party. He was now oſtenſibly on the ſide of the king; but his great power expoſed him to the envy of the courtiers, who infuſed into the mind of Stephen ſtrong ſuſpicions of his fidelity. That prince believed whatever was imputed to a nobleman of ſo inconſtant a temper; and being elate with the ſurrender of the ſtrong caſtle of Farringdon (which he had reduced even in the ſight of the earl of Gloceſter), and emboldened by other advantages, he ventured to circumſcribe the power, and diminiſh the poſſeſſions, of one whom he thought it his intereſt to ſuſpect. Ralph complaining to the king of the deſtructive frequency of the incurſions of the Welſh, and requeſting him to undertake an expedition againſt that people, the expences of which the earl promiſed to defray out of his own treaſures, Stephen teſtified an inclination to embark in ſuch an enterpriſe; but his favorites adviſed him not to repoſe any confidence in Ralph, or engage in any undertaking which might tend to put him in the power of ſo unfaithful a ſubject, till he had recovered from the earl ſuch caſtles as he was ſaid to have uſurped, and had procured the moſt valuable pledges for his fidelity. In conſequence of this counſel, Ralph received a formal notification of A. D. 1145. A. D. 1146.

5. Geſt. Steph. p. 963, 964.—Gul. Neubrig. lib. i.—Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.

the

A. D. 1146. the king's demands, and, on declining to acquiesce in them without mature consideration, was apprehended, fettered, and imprisoned. Stephen refused to grant him his liberty till he had surrendered the castle of Lincoln, and all his other fortresses, except those which belonged to the county palatine of Chester. With these conditions he reluctantly complied; and, after swearing to the observance of peace with the king, and giving hostages for his inoffensive behaviour, he was released from his dungeon. Regarding his oath as the effect of constraint, he immediately declared open war against Stephen, who resented his conduct by putting his nephew and principal hostage, Gilbert earl of Hertford, under close confinement, and obliging him to deliver up all his castles by way of ransom. Gilbert then joined his uncle against the king; and these confederates being abetted by the earl of Pembroke, harassed, with great success, the unsettled government of Stephen [6].

The count of Anjou, now duke of Normandy (for he had completed the reduction of that country several years before), began to feel some uneasiness at the long absence of his eldest son, who, since his arrival in England, had resided in the castle of Bristol, improving his mind with useful learning, and preparing himself for the able discharge of the functions of government as well as of the arts of war, under the auspices of his accomplished uncle. Three barons, commissioned by Geoffrey, came over to demand the

A. D. 1147. youth's return to his father; and whatever reluctance the empress might feel to the separation, she consented to dismiss the prince to Normandy. The earl of Gloucester conducted his nephew to the place of embarkation; and this was the last interview which they had with

6. Gest. Steph.—Chron. Gervas.—Ann. Waverl.

each

each other; for, before the expiration of the year, a fever deprived the world of this great man. A. D. 1147. Oct. 31.

The empreſs, having thus loſt the moſt able and diſintereſted of all her friends, and the only perſon of her whole council whoſe abilities and judgment were fully adequate to the taſk of governing a party, began to think of relinquiſhing a conteſt which ſhe found herſelf unable to proſecute. Early in the ſpring which ſucceeded her brother's death, ſhe returned to her conſort, and fixed her reſidence in Normandy. Her retreat would have ſecured to Stephen the peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, if he had not injured his own intereſts by his imprudent and arbitrary conduct, in ſeiſing the perſons, and invading the property, of thoſe whom he pretended to ſuſpect of ſiniſter views. A. D. 1148.

Before the deceaſe of earl Robert, the war had begun to languiſh from the length of it's duration, and the weakneſs of both parties. In this ſtate of mutual inactivity, many enterpriſing ſpirits voluntarily engaged in a new cruſade, which the zeal of St. Bernard had recommended to the bigotry of Lewis the Younger, and which, being ſtrongly promoted by pope Eugenius III. had produced the enliſtment even of greater numbers than had appeared in the firſt expedition of this kind. Lewis perſonally embarked in this romantic enterpriſe, and was accompanied by the flower of the French nobility; and the emperor Conrad III. proſecuted the ſame deſign with a very numerous army. Of the nobles of England who participated in the glory and danger of this undertaking, Roger de Mowbray, the young earl of Northumberland, William de Warrenne, earl of Surry, and Walleran, earl of Meulant and Worceſter, were the principal. Beſides theſe great barons and their vaſſals, a conſiderable number of

A. D. 1148. of private adventurers ſet ſail from England, and having augmented their numbers by the incorporation of many foreigners, directed their courſe to the ſhores of Paleſtine: but, when they arrived off the coaſt of Portugal, a ſtorm drove them up the river Tagus, at the time when Alphonſo, the founder of the Portugueſe monarchy, was endeavouring to reſcue Liſbon from the dominion of the Moors. That prince having prevailed on them to aſſiſt him in the reduction of the town, which, he ſaid, would be a ſervice equally meritorious with a campaign againſt the infidels of the Eaſt, they engaged in the ſiege with great ſpirit, and compelled the Mooriſh garriſon to ſurrender after a gallant defence. This and other exploits of the new allies of Alphonſo contributed to confirm that monarch in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Portugal, which he had lately founded at the expence of the Moors [7].

The influence which the brother of Stephen had derived from his office of papal legate, had been of great ſervice in ſecuring the clergy on the ſide of the king. But, by the intrigues of archbiſhop Theobald, who could not brook the idea of ſubmitting to one of his own ſuffragans, merely becauſe he was inveſted with the legatine character, the commiſſion which Henry of Wincheſter had ſo long enjoyed was revoked, to his great diſpleaſure and mortification. This circumſtance entailed, both on the pope and the primate, the reſentment of the deprived legate, and, by his means, of the king, who, when his holineſs had called a council at Rheims, prohibited Theobald, as well as every other Engliſh prelate, from attending the ſynod. The archbiſhop, however, diſregarded the royal command, and paſſing over to the continent, took part in the proceedings of the council. On his return to

7. Ann. Waverl. p. 156.—Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.

England,

England, Stephen treated him with ſuch manifeſt tokens of diſpleaſure, that he began to be apprehenſive of danger, and therefore made his retreat into France. His temporalities were now ſeiſed by the king; and, in revenge for what he deemed a ſacrilegious invaſion of his property, he reſolved to ſubject the dominions of Stephen to an interdict. Knowing that the earl of Norfolk was ſtill in arms againſt the king, he came over to one of his ports; and meeting with a friendly reception from him, he ſolemnly publiſhed an ordinance, prohibiting divine ſervice in thoſe parts of the realm which were ſubject to Stephen. The diſcontinuance of the ſacred rites had a terrifying effect on the people, who conceived themſelves to be in danger of eternal damnation; and though the king perſonally deſpiſed the thunders of the church, he was eager to procure the removal of an interdict which ſo deeply affected the feelings of his ſubjects. He therefore condeſcended to treat with the offended primate, who, on being re-eſtabliſhed in his ſee, revoked his tremendous ordinance [8]. A. D. 1148.

Invited, perhaps, by the diſaffected nobles and prelates, prince Henry, who had entered into his ſeventeenth year, and had already evinced a great and aſpiring mind, came over to England, to animate the king's opponents by his preſence. Followed by a body of horſe and foot, and accompanied by many of the Engliſh barons who adhered to his mother, he proceeded to Carliſle, with a view of receiving from the Scottiſh king the honor of knighthood, which was then conſidered as neceſſary for princes, and for every gentleman who intended to follow the profeſſion of arms. To ſecure the aſſiſtance of David in his attempts for the depoſition of Stephen, he conſented to A. D. 1149.

8. Chron. Gervaſ.

take

A. D 1149. take an oath which the Scot required of him before he would gird him with the ſword of knighthood. He bound himſelf not to reſume, in the event of his acquiring the crown of England, any part of the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, which had been ceded to David by Stephen, or of the ſhire of Weſtmoreland, of which he had taken poſſeſſion in the name of the empreſs and her heirs. After this preliminary ſettlement, the youth was formally inveſted with the dignity of a knight, amidſt a numerous concourſe of the nobility of England, Scotland, and Normandy [9].

Stephen, alarmed at the great reſort of the Engliſh to the banners of young Henry, and apprehenſive of the co-operation of the Scots with that prince to his prejudice, marched to York with a conſiderable army; but contented himſelf with ſtanding on the defenſive. The earl of Cheſter having promiſed to join David and Henry at Lancaſter with an army, they proceeded to that town; and there is no doubt that, if he had adhered to his engagements, they would have marched without delay againſt Stephen; for Henry was eager to make his firſt eſſay in arms, againſt the uſurper of his mother's right. But the non-appearance of the earl of Cheſter at the place of rendezvous, induced David to return into his own dominions, accompanied by Henry, who was extremely mortified at his diſappointment. In the mean time, Euſtace, who had been lately knighted by his father Stephen, made incurſions into the lands of the Engliſh nobles who had attended Henry to Carliſle; and that gallant youth would have readily made a campaign againſt Euſtace, if he could have depended on the aid of the Scottiſh king, without which it would have been hazardous for him to

9. Hoved. p. 280.—Gul. Neubrig.—Johan. Haguſt.

oppoſe

oppoſe a prince whom his father would have ſoon joined with a ſtrong army. A. D. 1149.

After a reſidence of ſeveral months at the court of David, during which he improved himſelf in martial exerciſes, Henry returned to Normandy, and was gratified by his parents with the ſurrender of that duchy. A. D. 1150. Some hoſtilities occurring between him and the king of France on this occaſion, Lewis conſented to grant him the inveſtiture of the dukedom, on condition of his ceding to him the Vexin Normand [10]. Henry's father, a prince of ability and merit, did not long ſurvive the reſignation of Normandy; and his death put the young prince in poſſeſſion of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. A. D. 1151.

Being thus maſter of flouriſhing dominions on the continent, Henry directed his views to the throne of England, to which he had a valid claim, as his mother had reſigned her pretenſions to a crown with which ſhe had in vain endeavoured to encircle her brows. His ſanguine diſpoſition gave him little doubt of the ſucceſs of his claim, againſt a prince who, after a long conteſt with the partiſans of his rival, was ſtill incapable of reducing his adverſaries to ſubjection, and who, by his frequent acts of violence againſt thoſe who were the objects either of his own ſuſpicions, or of the envy of his favorites, had alienated the affections of the moſt powerful barons of his kingdom.

While Henry was arranging the affairs of his new dominions, and preparing for the invaſion of England, an opportunity of aggrandiſement preſented itſelf to his ambition. Lewis the Younger, before his father's death, had received, from the barons of the duchy of Aquitaine, a formal intimation of the propoſals of their deceaſed ſovereign, for the marriage of his daugh-

10. Chron. Norman. ad ann. 1150.

A. D. 1151. ter Eleanor, whom he had named as his ſucceſſor, to the French prince. The offer had been gladly accepted, and the marriage ſolemniſed without delay. The petulant gaiety of Eleanor's temper being incompatible with the rigid bigotry of her huſband, domeſtic harmony had not attended their union; and the levity of her behaviour had particularly excited his jealouſy, after ſhe had accompanied him to Paleſtine. Her reputation had there ſuffered from the ſuggeſtions of rumor; and, ſince her return with Lewis to Europe, ſhe had inceſſantly endeavoured to irritate him into a divorce, which ſhe at length obtained on pretence of

A. D. 1152. conſanguinity. Henry having converſed with this princeſs before her repudiation, ſhe had conceived an affection for him, which, in all probability, haſtened her divorce. About two months after her ſeparation from Lewis, ſhe gave her hand to the young duke of Normandy, who ſeems to have been more enraptured with the proſpect of enjoying her ample poſſeſſions, than inſpired with the love of her perſon. By this marriage, Henry procured the fertile and opulent provinces of Guienne, Gaſcony, Poictou, Angoumois, Saintonge, the Limoſin, Perigord, and other diſtricts between the Loire and the Pyrenees, included under the general denomination of Aquitaine. Great was the mortification of the French king, when he was informed of the new connexion which his divorced queen had ſo rapidly formed. He lamented his own folly in giving up ſuch an extent of territory, as was more than equal to the dominions which were under his own immediate government. Eager to recover the provinces thus transferred to one of his own vaſſals, he reſolved to make war upon Henry. With this view, he entered into a confederacy with his brother-in-law, prince Euſtace, with the earl of Blois, ſecond ſon of Stephen's

Stephen's brother Theobald, and with Geoffrey of Anjou, brother to the Norman duke. Theſe allies formed a ſecret treaty for the diviſion of Henry's territories among them; and while Geoffrey endeavoured to excite a revolt in Anjou, his confederates marched into Normandy, and beſieged the ſtrong frontier of Neuf-marché [11]. A. D. 1152.

At the time of this invaſion, Henry was at Barfleur, preparing to embark for England. With the army which he had aſſembled for that expedition, he now advanced againſt the invaders of his duchy. Though Neuf-marché was taken before his arrival in that neighbourhood, he ſtruck ſuch a terror into his enemies by the maſterly diſpoſition which he made of the troops under his command, that they retired without venturing an encounter, though he ravaged a part of the demeſne lands of Lewis, and burned ſome of his forts. He then haſtened into Anjou, where he ſpeedily quelled the inſurrection, and reduced his brother Geoffrey to the humiliation of imploring his pardon.

On the return of Euſtace from Normandy, Stephen endeavoured to procure the recognition of that prince as his ſucceſſor in the throne of England. The nobility of his party, at his deſire, took an oath of fealty to Euſtace; but, when the primate was required to crown him, that the pretenſions of Henry might be the more effectually obſtructed, a peremptory refuſal was given, in which all the biſhops concurred, alleging the authority of the pope, who, as ſoon as he had been informed that Stephen had ſuch a ſcheme in agitation, had ſent diſpatches to his legate, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, enjoining him not to crown the ſon of a perjured uſurper. The king, enraged at the diſobe-

11. Chron. Norman. apud Ducheſne, p. 986, 987.—Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.—Matth. Par. p. 80.

A. D. 1152. dience of the prelates, gave orders that they ſhould all be encloſed in one apartment, till they ſhould think proper to comply with his will. After they had remained ſome time under confinement, the primate found means to make his eſcape; and his brethren were then releaſed, though Stephen ſeiſed their temporalities. Theſe acquiſitions, however, he did not long retain, being apprehenſive of the ill effects that might ariſe from a renewal of thoſe eccleſiaſtical fulminations which he had already experienced [12].

The civil war ſtill continued; but it was carried on in ſo languid a manner, as to furniſh few incidents worthy of hiſtoric notice. Having taken Newbury, Stephen formed the blockade of Wallingford caſtle, which, in point of ſtrength and importance, claimed, next to the fortreſs of Briſtol, the firſt rank among all the places garriſoned by his opponents. By erecting ſeveral forts around it, he diſtreſſed the enemy to ſuch a degree, that Brian Fitz-Comte, lord of the town and caſtle, ſent a meſſage to Henry duke of Normandy, requeſting him to come over to the relief of his adherents, as the garriſon would otherwiſe be obliged to ſurrender to his rival. Henry, though extremely eager to aſſert his claim to the Engliſh crown, was unwilling to leave his continental dominions at the mercy of the king of France; but reflecting, that, if he ſhould diſappoint his numerous friends in England, they might be induced to renounce their attachment to his intereſts, and ſtrengthen the arms of Stephen againſt him, he reſolved to repair thither without delay. The danger, however, to which his territories were expoſed from the enmity of the French monarch, obliged him to leave on the continent the greater part of the army which he had before muſtered for his Engliſh

12. Chron. Gervaſ. col. 1371.—Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.

enter-

enterprise, and to content himself with a retinue of about 150 knights, and a body of 3000 infantry, whom he embarked in thirty-six vessels. On his arrival in this kingdom, he was joined by the barons who had fought in the service of the empress; and having, in a council of war, harangued and animated his partisans, who were discouraged at the smallness of his force, when compared with the great object which he had in view, he advanced towards Malmsbury, quickly reduced the town, and took the castle by assault, except one tower of remarkable strength, which he was under the necessity of blockading [13].

A. D. 1152.

A. D. 1153. Jan. 6.

The king, who was greatly alarmed at the news of Henry's landing, left a part of his army in garrison before Wallingford, and marched against the duke with the remainder, to which he procured reinforcements in his progress. When he reached Malmsbury, he found Henry so advantageously posted, as to render it imprudent to attack him in his entrenchments. At the same time, a very violent tempest arose, of wind, hail, and sleet, which assailed the faces of his men, and so benumbed their feelings with cold, that they were unable to act with that spirit which an engagement required. The duke's forces, enjoying better shelter, and having the wind at their backs, were much less incommoded with the storm than their adversaries. The severity of the wintry weather at length drove Stephen to his metropolis; and his retreat was followed by the surrender of the tower of Malmsbury, and the spontaneous submission of the garrisons of thirty castles, to the fortunate duke.

Though Henry had drawn Stephen from Wallingford castle, it was still blocked up by the forts which the royalists had erected; and, as the duke, by the

13. Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.—Chron. Gervas.

A. D. 1153. ſucceſs which had already attended him, had cleared the way for the relief of the garriſon of that important ſtation, he now haſtened to accompliſh that ſalutary purpoſe. The troops with which Stephen had filled the blockading forts, were ſo intimidated by the firm countenance and number of the enemy, as to ſuffer them, unmoleſted, to convey proviſions into the caſtle. The duke then beſieged the ſtrongeſt of the forts which had been built by Stephen around Wallingford; and, in the mean time, his royal competitor advanced againſt him with a ſuperior force. On the king's approach, he came forward to meet him with confidence and alacrity, truſting to the rectitude of his cauſe, and to the courage of his troops. He encamped within a quarter of a mile of Stephen; and the two armies remained ſeveral days in ſight of each other, the nobles of both parties being unwilling to commence a conflict from which much bloodſhed was to be apprehended. A cotemporary hiſtorian [14] affirms, that the ardor of each prince for a deciſive action was reſtrained by the barons, who, fearing that the event of a general engagement would give to one of the leaders ſo confirmed a ſuperiority over the other, as to enable the conqueror to exerciſe a complete ſovereignty over them, were eager to prevent a determination of the diſpute, and to protract it in ſuch a manner, that, while one of the rivals lived in fear of the other, neither of them ſhould have an opportunity of ſubjecting the nobles of his party to the free exertion of the royal prerogative. Though theſe ſentiments may have influenced the barons of the moſt independent ſpirit to propoſe ſuch a compromiſe as would leave to neither of the princes a plenitude of authority, we may imagine that the more moderate of each party wiſhed for an accommodation from purer motives, from a deſire of

14. Henry of Huntingdon.

reſtoring

restoring peace to a kingdom which, for the space of fifteen years, had felt the destructive fury of internal war. A. D. 1153.

While the two armies continued inactive, William earl of Arundel harangued the royalists in recommendation of peace. His speech being favorably received by those to whom it was addressed, Stephen was prevailed on, by the advice of the majority of his barons, to propose to the duke a cessation of hostilities. Henry, not without reluctance, consented to a negotiation with his rival; and, after a conference between the two princes, a short truce was proclaimed through their respective camps [15].

Eustace, foreseeing that the duke would never be inclined to conclude a treaty with Stephen without securing at least the reversion of the crown on the death of that monarch, labored with great earnestness to prevent an accommodation so fatal to his own prospect of sovereignty. He reproached his father for listening to the suggestions of timidity, and warmly declared his resolution not to concur in any peace with Henry, while he could command the service even of a single warrior. He abruptly quitted the royal camp; and, accompanied by the knights of his household, and all who chose to follow his fortunes, he repaired to Cambridge, where he invited the provincials to join his standard. Having collected a troop of bold and profligate adventurers, he prepared to resist the completion of any treaty which might destroy his hopes of the succession.

At the expiration of the truce, hostilities were renewed, though the terms of peace were in a train of negotiation. Henry now defeated a detachment of the king's forces, commanded by the governor of Oxford

15. Chron. Gervas. col. 1373.

A. D. 1153. caſtle. His ſoldiers having pillaged the neighbouring country after this action, he ordered them to reſtore the ſpoils to the original proprietors. By actions of this kind, he conciliated the favor of the Engliſh, who formed a high opinion of his juſtice and moderation. While he thus promoted his views both by arms and humanity, his active antagoniſt marched againſt Hugh Bigod, the powerful earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had declared for the young duke. He laid ſiege to the caſtle of Ipſwich, belonging to that nobleman; and received the ſurrender of it while Henry was marching to it's relief. Euſtace, about this time, entered Suffolk with his partiſans, and ravaged the lands adjoining to St. Edmund's-bury. The violent agitations which his mind had ſuffered, from the firſt commencement of the negotiation between his father and the duke, threw him into a fever, which ſoon put an end to his exiſtence. He was a brave and enterpriſing prince; but of a fierce, impatient ſpirit, and of diſſolute and depraved manners [16].

By the mediation of archbiſhop Theobald, Henry of Wincheſter, and other perſons of rank, the articles of a treaty were at length ſettled, the death of Euſtace having contributed to haſten the concluſion of it. A Nov. council being convened at Wincheſter, it was agreed, that Stephen ſhould continue to reign till his deceaſe; that the crown ſhould then devolve on duke Henry and his heirs; that, in return for this confirmation of his claim, the duke ſhould ſwear fealty to Stephen, who ſhould engage to defend him as his adopted ſon; that William, the ſon of Stephen, ſhould be confirmed by the duke in the poſſeſſion of all the lands, whether in England or on the continent, which his father had enjoyed before he aſcended the throne; that Ste-

16. Johan. Sariſb. Polycrat. lib. vi.

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phen ſhould act by the duke's advice in the direction of national affairs, but that the ſupreme adminiſtration of juſtice over the whole kingdom ſhould remain with the former; that all the caſtles which had been erected ſince the death of the late king, ſhould be demoliſhed[17]; and that all foreign troops ſhould be diſmiſſed from the realm. In the ſame council, regulations were alſo enacted for the reſtitution of eſtates of which the owners had been unjuſtly deprived; for the reformation of the coin, which had been greatly debaſed both by the king and the barons; and for the promotion of commerce and the uſeful arts[18]. A. D. 1153.

When this convention had been ratified by the ſolemn concurrence of all who were preſent in the aſſembly, the duke accompanied the king to the metropolis, where they were received with the univerſal acclamations of the citizens. Another council, more numerous than the laſt, met at Oxford in the beginning of the next year; on which occaſion, all the members gave their homage and fealty to Henry, with a reſervation of their allegiance to Stephen, and thoſe barons who, having conſtantly oppoſed the king, had never acknowledged themſelves his ſubjects, ſwore fealty to him in compliance with one of the clauſes of the treaty. A. D. 1154.

As Stephen had been, in a great meaſure, forced into this agreement by the united voices of the major part of the nation, he was not ſo much attached to the terms of it, as to be averſe to the infraction of ſuch of it's ſtipulations as appeared moſt obnoxious to his adherents. He retained his foreign mercenaries; and

17. Theſe fortreſſes are ſaid to have amounted to 1115. *R. de Diceto.* But, that the number was really ſo great, is hardly probable.

18. Dicet. Imagines Hiſtor.—Brompt. Chron.

though

A. D. 1154. though he deſtroyed many of the caſtles of his partiſans, he did not ſtrictly adhere to that part of the treaty, which, indeed, the reſiſtance of the poſſeſſors may have prevented him from fully executing. Henry, obſerving the king's neglect of his engagements, procured the meeting of another council, in which he deſired him to complete without delay the execution of the compact; but the affair terminated in his admiſſion of Stephen's excuſes; and, as he imagined that he had effectually provided for the peace of the kingdom, and for the ſecurity of his own ſucceſſion, he thought proper to return to Normandy, which the French king had invaded in his abſence [19].

Stephen now made a progreſs through different parts of his kingdom, to reſtore, by his preſence, the royal authority, which had been little regarded during the late commotions. He was welcomed, in his journey, with the congratulations of his people, who were extremely rejoiced at the return of peace. Some caſtles, which had been the receptacles of the moſt licentious villains, he ordered to be raſed to the ground before his face. He enforced the due obſervance of the laws, and labored to reform the irregularities and diſorders inſeparable from a civil war. Returning from a tour in the North of England, he held a great council at London for the tranſaction of public buſineſs; but this was the laſt aſſembly in which he preſided; for he was ſoon after ſeiſed, when in Kent, with a return of the hæmorrhoids, a complaint with which

19. Gervaſe of Canterbury ſpeaks of an unſucceſsful plot formed by ſome of Stephen's mercenaries, with the connivance of his ſon William, to aſſaſſinate Henry. But this account is ill ſupported by the circumſtances with which it is combined, and is wholly omitted by thoſe writers who lived nearer to this period than Gervaſe.

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he had been frequently haraſſed, and which was now accompanied with the iliac paſſion. Theſe united diſeaſes put a period to his life, after a tempeſtuous reign of near nineteen years, in the fiftieth year of his age [20]. A. D. 1154. Oct. 25.

In deciding on the merits of Stephen's character as a king, the unſettled and diſorderly ſtate to which his uſurpation ſubjected the realm, muſt be conſtantly kept in our eye. All his acts of violence, injuſtice, and tyranny, derived their origin, in a great meaſure, from the troubles which he brought upon himſelf by the original ſin of his ambition. In aiming at the brilliant prize of ſovereignty, he loſt ſight of honor, principle, and gratitude. In his endeavours to eſtabliſh himſelf on a throne which the imperfection of his title deprived of ſtability, he was tempted to make ample conceſſions, and hold out a profuſion of promiſes, which his future neceſſities rendered it politically expedient to violate. Haraſſed by a powerful and inceſſant competition, he found himſelf, as it were, diſabled from purſuing the meaſures which his natural diſpoſition would have ſuggeſted; and when the waves of inteſtine diſcord were once put in motion, and raged with ſuch fury as to render an adherence to all his profeſſions ineffectual for compoſing the ſtorm, he was induced to revoke the moſt imprudent of his early grants, and to extort a compliance with his altered inclination by menace and violence. We here particularly allude to his permiſſion for the erection of caſtles; the appropriation of which, by threats of long impri-

20 Chron. Gervaſ.—Chron. Hemingf.—He was interred in the abbey of Feverſham, which he himſelf had founded, and in which he had before buried his queen Matilda and his ſon Euſtace. Beſides this ſon, and William, he had one named Baldwin, who died an infant; and two daughters, Matilda and Mary. Two natural ſons are alſo aſcribed to this monarch.

ſonment

A. D. 1154. ſonment or of perſonal danger to the occupants, formed one of the moſt frequent oppreſſions of his reign. The great power and independence of the clergy, and the unſubmitting ſpirit of the temporal barons, operated alſo as incentives to his occaſional exerciſe of tyranny. But, though the difficulties of his ſituation, and the exigencies of the times, may be alleged in palliation of his incidental obliquity of conduct, it cannot wholly be excuſed even by a more forcible degree of ſtate-neceſſity than that which occurred during his reign. Thoſe who were prevailed on, by the declarations which he made when an humble candidate for the crown, and by the charter which he granted by way of ſanction to his verbal promiſes, to involve themſelves in the guilt of perjury, had a right to demand an obſervance of the ſpirit of thoſe profeſſions which alone had enſured their acquieſcence in his uſurpation. But, having borne down the barriers of honor in his original act of claiming the crown, he conſidered a ſtrict attention to it, in his ſubſequent behaviour, as futile and unneceſſary; and he was encouraged in ſuch ſentiments by the leaders of his foreign mercenaries, who were, indeed, his chief inſtigators to arbitrary and perfidious meaſures, as well as the principal ſupporters of his power againſt the effects of the public reſentment, and the exertions of his formidable rival.

His abilities, though not ſhining, were ſuch as placed him above contempt; but his judgment was too weak to direct, with propriety and efficacy, the machine of government, amidſt the ſtorms of ſo turbulent a reign, and the perplexing obſtacles ariſing from the licentiouſneſs of his own partiſans, who ſerved him rather from temporary views of convenience and ſelf-intereſt, than from ſteady motives of loyalty or attachment. If

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his great activity had been controlled by inherent prudence, or by the counſels of able and upright miniſters, he might perhaps have ſpeedily quelled the oppoſition of Matilda's friends, particularly after ſhe had rendered herſelf unpopular by the ſhort ſpecimen which ſhe gave of her mode of adminiſtration. But he acted more from caſual impulſe and deſultory ideas, than from a judicious and conſiſtent plan of conduct. A. D. 1154.

In his military capacity, he diſplayed the moſt reſolute intrepidity, and the utmoſt alertneſs, accompanied with great bodily ſtrength. His judgment, however, has been cenſured as defective in the ſtation of a martial commander, as well as in that of a political governor. Both in the field and in the cabinet, he was quick, and even raſh, in forming his own ſchemes, or in adopting the plans of others, which he generally received with too great a facility of acquieſcence. He commenced a warlike enterpriſe with ſpirit and vigor; but his impatience of temper would rarely ſuffer him to perſevere in the execution of it.

His perſonal qualities were amiable and endearing. He had a great ſhare of humanity and good-nature; his diſpoſition inclined him to clemency and liberality; and the annals of his government are unſtained with thoſe traits of revenge and barbarity which have darkened the portrait of his immediate predeceſſor, as well as of his grandfather the Conqueror. His manners were conciliatory, polite, and condeſcending, even to his ſubjects of the loweſt rank, among whom, indeed, his popularity was chiefly confined, though he greatly diminiſhed their attachment to him by his partiality to an army of foreigners, and his profuſe donations to thoſe hirelings.

The

A. D. 1154. The religious ſentiments of this prince did not form a conſpicuous part of his character, though we do not find that he was guilty of any flagrant impiety, if we except the breach of his oaths. Of bigotry he had no traces; the reveries of monks, and the omens of ſuperſtition, exciting only his contempt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

HISTORY of the ENGLISH CHURCH, from the NORMAN CONQUEST to the ACCESSION of HENRY II.

The Conqueror ſubjects the church to it's due ſhare of the national burthens.—He fills the eccleſiaſtical dignities with foreigners.—Celibacy is ſtrongly enjoined among the clergy, both ſecular and regular.—A diſtinct court is appointed for the cogniſance of eccleſiaſtical cauſes.—Henry I. has a long conteſt with the court of Rome concerning the homage and inveſtiture of prelates.—He relinquiſhes the latter prerogative.—The pope endeavours to introduce his legates into the Engliſh church.—Appeals from England to the ſee of Rome begin to be very frequent.

IN the later times of the Anglo-Saxon government, the church was in a very flouriſhing ſtate. The ſuperſtition of many of the kings who reigned before the Conqueſt, had gradually augmented the poſſeſſions of the clergy, and multiplied the monaſtic foundations. The ſame devotion to the eccleſiaſtical order which prompted the different ſovereigns to increaſe the endowments of the church, impelled them alſo to grant ſuch privileges and immunities as raiſed their ſpiritual ſubjects far above the temporal inhabitants of the kingdom.

In this ſtate of elevation, opulence, and power, the firſt William found the Engliſh clergy on his acquiſition of the crown. Though this prince aſſumed the appearance of religion, expreſſed an apparent regard for the clerical eſtabliſhment, and treated the individuals belonging to it with great politeneſs of demea- A D. 1066.

A. D. 1066. nor, he ſoon formed the intention of rendering them more ſubſervient to the crown than they had before been, and of obliging them to contribute their full ſhare towards defraying the expences of government. He ſubjected all the lands of the church to the ſame tenures of barony and knights' ſervice, to which he had reduced the poſſeſſions of the laity; an innovation at which the eccleſiaſtics murmured in vain.

A. D. 1070. The ſame year in which the Conqueror introduced baronial tenures among the clergy, was diſtinguiſhed by other events of importance; for inſtance, the depoſition of Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Engliſh prelates as well as abbots, chiefly on account of their being natives; and the king's precedent for introducing the papal juriſdiction into the œconomy of the Engliſh church, to which, however, he was not influenced by motives of implicit obedience to the holy ſee, but by a deſire of ſheltering his violent deprivation of the Engliſh dignitaries under the cloak of the pope's authority. At his requiſition, and in his preſence, a legatine council aſſembled at Wincheſter, in which Ermenfred biſhop of Sion, and two cardinals named John and Peter, preſided, as repreſentatives of pope Alexander II., over the hierarchy of England. In this ſynod, archbiſhop Stigand, Agelmar biſhop of Elmham, and ſeveral abbots, were formally depoſed, on the pretence of their holding a plurality of preferments, of uncanonical election, or of ſome other delinquency either frivolous in itſelf or falſely alleged. In another council convoked by Ermenfred, ſuch further deprivations were made as were agreeable to the wiſhes of the king, who immediately filled the vacancies with foreign eccleſiaſtics [1].

The

1. Sim. Dunelm.—Hoved. Ann.—Theſe are the firſt inſtances of the exertion of papal ſupremacy in this kingdom, ſince the time of Gregory

The perſon whom he ſelected for the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, was Lanfranc, a native of Lombardy, who had long reſided in the Norman duchy, and had been tranſlated by William from the government of the abbey of Bec to that of Caen, founded by this prince himſelf. His great eſteem for Lanfranc induced him, on the removal of Stigand, to invite the learned abbot from Normandy, that he might be elevated to the rank of primate of England. He readily accepted the invitation; and, on his arrival in this kingdom, was conſecrated by eight ſuffragans of the ſee which he came to occupy. He gave an early inſtance of his deſire of maintaining the ſupremacy of his ſee; for, when Thomas of Bayeux, who had been promoted, on the death of Aldred, to the archbiſhopric of York, applied to the new primate for conſecration, he refuſed to gratify the ſolicitor, unleſs he would deliver a written declaration of canonical obedience to the preſent archbiſhop of Canterbury and his ſucceſſors, confirmed by an oath. As Thomas was unwilling to make this ſubmiſſion, Lanfranc with-held from him the ceremony of conſecration. This diſpute being communicated to the king, he ordered that Thomas ſhould promiſe, in writing, an abſolute obedience to Lanfranc in all points relative to the exerciſe of Chriſtianity, but not to his ſucceſſors, unleſs, on a full inveſtigation of the affair in council, it ſhould be determined againſt him. Having complied with the royal mandate, he was conſecrated by Lanfranc without delay. But the conteſt for clerical ſuperiority did not here reſt. Two years afterwards, an aſſembly A. D. 1070.

gory the Great; for the two legates who came over about the year 786, did no more than recommend a body of canons to the deliberation of two councils ſummoned in England after their arrival, without preſuming to exerciſe any act of juriſdiction.

A. D. 1072. of the clergy met at Windſor, for the deciſion of this point. After a long debate, it was determined, that, though Gregory the Great had ordained that the metropolitan rank of the ſee of Canterbury ſhould continue only during the life of St. Auguſtine, and had commanded the erection of archiepiſcopal ſees at London and York, the precedency of which was to be regulated by the priority of conſecration, this decree had been virtually abrogated by the preſcriptive practice of all the ſucceſſors of Auguſtine, who had conſtantly acted as primates of all England, extending their authority over the archbiſhops of York, without regard to priority of appointment. It was alſo proved, that the ſuperiority of the archbiſhop of Canterbury over all the churches of Britain had been acknowledged by ſeveral of the pontiffs who had ſucceeded Gregory. It was decreed by the council, that the Humber ſhould form the boundary between the provinces of Canterbury and York; that the occupant of the latter ſee ſhould attend with his ſuffragans at any council to which he might be ſummoned by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he was bound to ſerve in Chriſtian obedience; and that he ſhould give a written acknowledgment of the ſupremacy of the ſee of Canterbury, to which he ſhould even ſwear, if the primate ſhould require ſuch a ſanction. This determination was highly agreeable to Lanfranc, who now received a paper from the archbiſhop of York, profeſſing a complete obedience in ſpiritual affairs to him and his ſucceſſors[a].

Lanfranc held many councils during his archiepiſcopate; but, as it would be a ſuperfluous taſk to enumerate all the canons enacted under his auſpices, (or rather under thoſe of the Conqueror, who would not

a. Gul. Malmſb. de Geſt. Pontif. lib. i.

ſuffer a ſingle meaſure to be propoſed in convocation unleſs it had been ſtamped with his prior aſſent), we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the moſt curious and important ones. A. D. 1072.

It is probable that the clergy ſtill found a difficulty in procuring tithes; for it was deemed expedient, in one of Lanfranc's ſynods, to paſs a ſpecific canon, enjoining the payment of theſe dues. In another, it was enacted, that every perſon who had killed one or more men in the battle of Haſtings, ſhould do penance one year for every individual who had fallen by his hands; and that a penance of forty days for every man who had been wounded in that engagement, ſhould be impoſed on the ſoldier who had inflicted the wounds. Many other penances were ordained in the ſame council for offences of the military kind. Here it is neceſſary to remark, that the moſt uſual penances were theſe, *viz.* faſting, pilgrimage, frequent lamentation, abſtinence from the luxury of a ſoft bed or agreeable clothing, &c. Theſe and other penitential inflictions might be redeemed by the payment of ſuch ſums as the biſhop of the dioceſe ſhould appoint, by the copious diſtribution of alms, by erecting or endowing a church or a monaſtery [3].

In another ſynod, all clergymen were prohibited from ſitting in judgment in a cauſe which affected life or limb. This was doubtleſs intended to ſhow, that the purity of the clerical character was ſo remote from the idea of bloodſhed, as to be wholly unconcerned with any ſanguinary proceſs. The ſpirit of this canon is ſtill obſerved. A. D. 1075.

Several attempts had been made by the popes to introduce celibacy among all the members of the church, that the abſence of ſecular connexions might render

3. Spelm. Concil.

A. D. 1075. them more independent of the temporal power, and attach them the more to the exclusive interests of their own order. In the reign of Edgar the Pacific, as we have before seen, this mode of life had been adopted in the greater part of the monasteries and cathedrals. But it was not yet universal even among the monks, and had made very little progress among the secular or parochial clergy. Gregory VII. who now filled the papal chair, was a strenuous promoter of this scheme, which he enforced by repeated canons. Lanfranc was also a zealous advocate for it; and he procured the en-

A. D. 1076. actment of a law, ordaining, that no monk, canon, or prebendary, should be allowed to have a wife; that such priests as lived in castles, towns, or villages, should not enter into the matrimonial state, but that those who were already married might retain their wives; and that bishops should not give holy orders to any married person, or to one who would not make a solemn promise to avoid matrimony. In the same council which sanctioned these unreasonable provisions, a canon was enacted against the supplantation of churches. Among the Anglo-Saxons, lands were frequently conveyed by the delivery of a sword, a staff, an arrow, a cup, &c. without any written instrument; and the Conqueror and his nobles, taking advantage of this insufficiency of evidence, endeavoured to *supplant* the churches and monasteries, by seising those lands to which a right of property could not be proved by written testimony. To guard against this supplantation, many deeds and charters were forged by the clergy; and, with a view of giving additional security to the lands of the church, a statute was now particularly directed against the rapacity of the supplanters.

Of the changes which William I. made in the constitution of the English church, the most important

was

was the ſeparation of the eccleſiaſtical from the civil courts. In the Saxon times, every earl or governor of a ſhire preſided in the county-court with the biſhop of the dioceſe; and the cauſes and offences both of the clergy and laity were there tried. But the perſuaſions of the Norman prelates, who wiſhed to eſtabliſh a ſeparate juriſdiction for the church, prevailed on William to confine clerical cauſes to the determination of the prelates and archdeacons [4]. He did not, perhaps, foreſee that this meaſure would tend to promote the independence of the church on the civil power, and encourage the encroachments of the ſee of Rome, appeals to which from the eccleſiaſtical courts were likely to become frequent, diſunited as they now were from the temporal judicature. It muſt be obſerved, however, that this exemption from the judgment of a ſecular court was not meant to extend to thoſe clergymen who were guilty of crimes of a nature purely civil, as murder, theft, &c. but the original intention of it was ſoon perverted by the ambition of the eccleſiaſtics, and their ſelfiſh deſire of withdrawing every clerical delinquent from the juriſdiction of a civil tribunal. Circ. A. D. 1085.

Lanfranc, after having preſided over the Engliſh church near nineteen years, died in the ſecond year of the reign of William Rufus, to whom he had been preceptor. He acquired a great reputation for piety, munificence, ability, and erudition; but he degraded his underſtanding by his zealous adoption of the ridiculous tenet of tranſubſtantiation, which was introduced into the Engliſh creed by his efforts and patronage. He not only recommended this doctrine in his diſcourſes, but wrote an elaborate treatiſe in defence of it againſt the learned Berenger, archdeacon of Angers, who had ably combated the abſurdities of this ill-founded notion. A. D. 1089.

4. Seldeni Not. et Spicileg. ad Eadm. p. 167.

A. D. 1089. The primacy remained unoccupied about four years, during which period Rufus enjoyed the revenues of the ſee. This monarch, by way of jocular apology for his practice of retaining vacant eccleſiaſtical dignities in his own hands, obſerved, that Chriſt's bread was ſweet and delicious, and therefore very proper for kings. It was not till he was reduced to a ſtate of deſ-

A. D. 1093. pondency by an alarming indiſpoſition, that he conſented to diveſt himſelf of the future revenues of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, by conferring that dignity on Anſelm, abbot of Bec. He, at the ſame time, filled up the opulent ſee of Lincoln, and reſtored the church-lands which he had arbitrarily ſeiſed.

The diſſenſions between Rufus and archbiſhop Anſelm having been mentioned in the civil hiſtory, it is unneceſſary to recapitulate them here. When theſe diſ-

A. D. 1097. putes had driven the primate to the continent, the king ſeiſed the temporalities of his ſee, and applied the income to his own uſe for the remainder of his reign. No alterations were made in the diſcipline or doctrines of the church during the ſway of this prince, who would not ſuffer any councils to be called for the regulation of eccleſiaſtical affairs. But his ſucceſſor, who affected a regard for religion, was more attentive to the concerns of the church. Having recalled Anſelm to his ſee, he permitted him to hold a ſynod at

A. D. 1102. Weſtminſter, in which ſix abbots were depoſed for ſimoniacal practices, though ſome of them were afterwards reſtored by a repetition of the ſame crime for which they had been removed from their dignities. Three other abbots were depoſed by the ſame authority for different offences. This aſſembly went a ſtep further than any former ſynod had proceeded, with reſpect to the marriage of the clergy; for it was now ordained, that no clergyman of any denomination

ſhould

should take a wife, or retain one whom he had already espoused; and that any priest who should not comply with this canon, should be incapacitated from celebrating mass, or performing other sacerdotal functions. By other canons of this council, it was decreed, that persons who were related within the seventh degree should not be coupled in matrimony; that clergymen should be shaven in the crown of the head; that every person should take care to prevent his hair from over-shadowing his eyes, or covering his ears; besides a variety of other ordinances, partly frivolous, and partly judicious [5]. A. D. 1102.

The contest between Henry and the court of Rome, concerning the investiture and homage of prelates and abbots, continued for the first seven years of his reign. It was then decided, as the reader has seen, to the prejudice of the king, who was constrained to relinquish the prerogative of investiture, though he afterwards recovered it during the pontificate of Calistus II. A. D. 1107.

The clergy of England being extremely averse to a compliance with the late canons against their marriage, a national council was convened for the purpose of enforcing those decrees. It was enacted by this assembly, that no women should dwell on ground belonging to the church; that those clergymen who presumed to live in the married state should be divested of their spiritual office, deprived of their moveable goods, excommunicated, and declared *infamous*; and that such deans and archdeacons as should take money for dispensing with these statutes, or should refuse to swear that they would not accept bribes in this way, should be subjected to a privation of their dignities [6]. But, though deans and archdeacons were prohibited from taking A. D. 1108.

5. Eadm. p. 67, 68. 6. Eadm. p. 95.—Hoved. p. 270.

A. D. 1108. money for a relaxation of the rigor of these provisions, the avaricious Henry did not scruple to receive bribes from those ecclesiastics who wished to retain their wives[7].

Anselm was as tenacious of the supremacy of his see, as his predecessor Lanfranc had been. On the death of Girard archbishop of York, one Thomas was appointed by the king to succeed him; but this ecclesiastic, being no less eager than his kinsman Thomas of Bayeux to avoid the humiliating declaration of canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury, declined, on various pretences, a visit to Anselm for consecration. The primate, suspecting the intentions of Thomas, who, with a view of eluding the odious submission, had sent to Rome for a pall, not only wrote a peremptory letter to the archbishop elect, commanding him to come to Canterbury to be consecrated, but dispatched an express to the pope, requesting him not to gratify Thomas with a pall before he had received lawful consecration, and had professed obedience to the primacy. Not content with these demonstrations of firmness, he sent circular letters to all the bishops of the kingdom, giving them a strict injunction not to consecrate the refractory Thomas, or hold communion with him, if he should procure consecration from any foreign prelates. While this dispute remained undecided, A. D. 1109. Anselm resigned his breath, with the character of a learned and zealous defender of all the claims advanced by the see of Rome, however absurd or extravagant. Soon after his decease, Thomas was compelled, by the determination of the king and his council, to give, under his hand and seal, a solemn profession of obedience to the see of Canterbury, with a reserve of his allegiance to his sovereign, and of the

7. Eadm. Hist.

sub-

submission which he owed to the pope. He was then consecrated by the bishop of London, "receiving from "the servant (says Eadmer) what he had refused to "receive from the master." He then exercised that imperfect superiority which had been allowed him over the church of Scotland, by consecrating Turgot, who had been nominated to the see of St. Andrew's. A. D. 1109.

On the death of Anselm, Henry, in imitation of the example of his brother Rufus, seised the estates of the see of Canterbury, and kept them in his own hands for five years. He then proposed to fill this important station with a new incumbent; and Ralph bishop of Rochester, being honored with the choice of the monks of Canterbury, was confirmed in the primacy by the king and the bishops of the province. The translation of this prelate having been settled without the concurrence of pope Paschal, he was greatly offended at such a neglect of his pontifical authority; and, when he sent a pall for the new archbishop, which he for some time refused to grant, he wrote a letter of reproof and menace, addressed to the king and the prelates of England. A. D. 1114.

The same year which gave a new primate to the kingdom, exhibited a new archbishop of York, in the person of Thurstan, whose obstinacy revived the contest between the two sees. To dwell on the display of clerical ambition, pride, and pertinacity, would be repulsive to the reader, who will doubtless be satisfied with the general information, that Thurstan, being commanded by Henry and his council to profess a due obedience to the church of Canterbury, on pain of forfeiting the see to which he had been elected, embraced the latter alternative; that, repenting of this step, he in vain solicited the king to restore him, till the pope had issued his mandate for that purpose; that he

he ſtill perſiſted in refuſing to make the ſubmiſſions required by the primate; that he procured conſecration
A. D. 1119. at Rheims from pope Caliſtus, as well as the honor of the pall; that, being prohibited from returning either into England or Normandy, he remained in France about a year and a half, and then recovered his ſee without any declaration of obedience, in conſequence
A. D. 1121. of the pope's having threatened the king with excommunication, the primate with ſuſpenſion, and the realm with an interdict [8].

Ralph, who was not inferior to Anſelm or Lanfranc in piety, learning, or ſpirit, was ſucceeded in his archbiſhopric by William de Corboil, who was elected
A. D. 1123. in the next year after his predeceſſor's death. The new archbiſhop, when he repaired to Rome for his pall, endeavoured to obtain from the pope a final deciſion in favor of the ſuperiority of his ſee over that of York; but Caliſtus was unwilling to comply with his ſolicitations.

The ſee of Rome, for many years, had been laboring to eſtabliſh her authority over the church of England, by introducing her legates into that kingdom. But, though the Conqueror had permitted a papal legation when it coincided with his private views, neither the exhortations of Alexander II. who had promoted that prince's deſigns on the Engliſh throne, nor the enterpriſing arrogance of Gregory VII. could prevail on him to receive a legate in ordinary, or acquieſce in other encroachments meditated by the holy ſee. Rufus was equally inflexible to the demands and menaces of the papal court; and his brother Henry, for ſome time, boldly reſiſted the idea of a Romiſh legation, having denied a reception to ſeveral eccleſiaſtics who had been ſent at different times to officiate as the repreſentatives

8: Hoved. p. 271—273.—Eadm. lib. v. et vi.

of

of the pope. At length, however, he consented to admit the cardinal John de Crema in that capacity, from an unwillingness to exasperate the sovereign pontiff (Honorius II.) who, he apprehended, might be induced, by his refusal, to patronise the claim of duke Robert's son, that prince being then in arms against his royal uncle. A. D. 1125.

The cardinal legate, on his arrival in England, made a progress though some of the dioceses, and afterwards presided in a council at Westminster, which was very numerously attended. Among other canons of this synod, there was one which prohibited the marriage of ecclesiastics of every denomination; for the neglect of the former statutes on this subject rendered it necessary, in the legate's opinion, to enforce them by the papal authority. In a speech which he addressed to the assembly, he inveighed against the lewdness and immorality of those churchmen who lived in a state of matrimony, and affirmed it to be "the height "of impiety for a priest to make the body of Christ "when he had lately risen from the side of a *prostitute*;" for it was the custom of the bigots of those times to give that opprobrious appellation to the wives of the clergy. In the evening of the same day, the cardinal himself, after he had administered the eucharist, was detected in the enjoyment of amorous intercourse with a professed courtezan. The shame of this discovery, which was immediately propagated over the kingdom, so confounded the legate, that he abruptly made his retreat to the continent[9]. This adventure afforded cause of triumph to the married clergy, and gave them some respite from the strict execution of the laws against them.

9. Hen. Hunt. lib. vii.—Matth. Westm. ad ann. 1125.—Hoved. p. 274.—Matth. Par. p. 67.

After

A. D. 1125. After the ſeparation of the late council, the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York repaired to Rome, to treat with the pope on the diſpute between the two ſees. The ſuperior influence of Thurſtan procured a bull for the exemption of himſelf and his ſucceſſors from all dependence on the ſee of Canterbury, and for eſtabliſhing a perfect equality between the two prelates, except that the point of precedency ſhould be enjoyed by the one who had firſt received conſecration [10]. Mortified by this deciſion, William, though he had been deſired to remonſtrate with his holineſs on his invaſion of the independence of the Engliſh church by the delegation of his repreſentative, conſented to accept

A. D. 1127. a commiſſion from Honorius, appointing him the papal legate for the whole kingdom of England [11], by which he expected to recover a full ſuperiority over the archbiſhop of York and the ſuffragans of that ſee. By his acceptance of the legatine character, he betrayed the true intereſts of the church over which he preſided, ſunk his independent metropolitan dignity in the office of deputy to a foreign prieſt, and completed the ſubjection of the national church to the decrees of one who had no ſhadow of right to exerciſe any juriſdiction over it. Before he thus degraded himſelf, he had a plenary authority, by preſcriptive claim, and royal confirmation, over all the dioceſes of England; an authority which no papal bulls could either augment or diminiſh, if the ſpirit of the ſovereign and the nation had been properly exerted.

Soon after his return from Rome, William, eager to preſide in his legatine capacity, ſummoned a general council of the Engliſh and Welſh clergy, in which he enacted ſevere laws againſt that "plague of the

10. Concil. Magn. Britann. edit. Wilk. vol. i.

11. Wilk. Concil. vol. i.

"church,"

"church," the marriage of eccleſiaſtics. But the clergy ſtill continuing to neglect the prohibition, another ſynod was convoked two years afterwards, in which the king was preſent. It was decreed on this occaſion, that thoſe clergymen who ſhould either marry in future, or refuſe to diſmiſs the wives with whom they now cohabited, ſhould be expelled from their churches and houſes, and be declared incapable of ever filling any eccleſiaſtical department. Henry, however, deprived this canon of it's efficacy, by drawing into his own coffers a pecuniary compenſation for the infringement of it [12]. A. D. 1129.

During the ſchiſm in the papacy, which commenced on the death of Honorius, for whoſe *tiara* a cardinal named Peter, who aſſumed the diſtinction of Anacletus, powerfully contended with Innocent II. for about eight years, the Engliſh church was not diſturbed by the arrogant claims of the court of Rome. William's legatine authority having expired with Honorius, he directed the affairs of the church in his original character of metropolitan. A. D. 1130.

As the prelates of this kingdom, induced by the ample promiſes of Stephen to violate their oaths to the empreſs Matilda, concurred in the uſurpation of that prince, he particularly favored the clerical order in the charter which he granted at Oxford within a few months after his coronation. William, who either believed, or pretended to believe, the perjured aſſertion of the earl of Norfolk, importing that king Henry, on his death-bed, had abſolved his ſubjects of the oaths which they had taken in Matilda's favor, had anointed and crowned Stephen; but he did not ſurvive the performance of that ceremony above a year; and, at his deceaſe, the king, in direct contravention of one A. D. 1136.

12. Hen. Huntingd. lib. vii.—Wilk. Concil.

of

A. D. 1136. of the articles of his charter, kept the archbiſhopric in his own hands for two years. The vacancy was

A. D. 1138. then ſupplied with Theobald abbot of Bec, principally by the influence of Alberic biſhop of Oſtia, whom Innocent, preſuming on the favor which he had ſhown to Stephen by granting him a bull to confirm his uſurpation, had ſent over to interfere in the eccleſiaſtical government.

Before the ſee of Canterbury was conferred on Theobald, Alberic held a national ſynod at Weſtminſter, in which the laws againſt the marriage and concubinage of the clergy were renewed, and the receiving of inveſtiture from the hands of a layman was prohibited. Theobald was then elected, with the approbation of the king, to the vacant ſee, and conſecrated by the legate,

A. D. 1139. to the great diſappointment of Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, who had expected, from the favor of his brother Stephen, a tranſlation to the metropolitan ſee. The diſcontent, however, of this ambitious prelate, was partly removed by the legatine commiſſion which he now received from the pope [13], and which gave him a ſuperiority over all the prelates of the realm.

While the biſhop of Wincheſter continued in the exerciſe of his legation, the practice of appealing to Rome began to be more frequent than it had ever before been: and, indeed, as the pope had now eſtabliſhed his power of nominating legates, appeals to his immediate juriſdiction were the natural conſequences of that concern which he had arrogated in the direction

13. In March 1139, according to Malmſbury; though ſome authors refer the appointment to the beginning of Stephen's reign. This prelate is ſaid to have afterwards procured the metropolitan pall from Lucius II. who intended to ſubject the Weſt-Saxon biſhops to his juriſdiction; but, if ſuch a ſcheme was really adopted by that pope, the execution of it was prevented by the ſtrong oppoſition which it met with, and by the very ſhort duration of his pontificate.

of

of the Engliſh church; for, if the ſentence of the deputy did not meet with approbation, the obvious remedy was an appeal to the principal himſelf. A. D. 1139.

The regularity of ſpiritual government was ſo much impeded by the inteſtine wars of this reign, that few points of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory occur; and the deliberations of the different ſynods which aſſembled after the departure of the biſhop of Oſtia, had ſuch reference to the temporal buſineſs of the nation, that the circumſtances and reſult of their meeting were neceſſarily mentioned among the civil affairs of this period. The occaſional quarrels between Stephen and the dignified clergy have been alſo aſſigned to that department: and nothing purely eccleſiaſtical remains to be recorded, except the long contention for the ſee of York, between the king's nephew William, treaſurer of that church, and Henry Murdach, abbot of Fountains in that county. The intereſt of the latter at length prevailed; for, in the council convoked by Eugenius III. at Rheims, William was deprived of his ſee, on pretence of irregular election. He did not recover it before the deceaſe of Murdach; and then he enjoyed it for a very ſhort time, being removed from the world by a ſudden indiſpoſition, which was attributed to the effects of poiſon [14]. A. D. 1148. A. D. 1154.

To the eccleſiaſtical affairs of this period, an account of the learned and ingenious men who flouriſhed in the Anglo-Norman times will not be deemed an improper appendix, as erudition and ſcience were then principally confined to that part of the community whoſe hiſtory has been the object of this chapter.

For ſome time before the conqueſt, literary and ſcientific purſuits were in a low ſtate of cultivation among the Engliſh [15], notwithſtanding the endeavours

14. Ann. Waverl. p. 158.—Chron. Gervaſ. 15. Gul. Malmſb. lib. iii.

of

A. D. 1154. of Edward the Confeſſor, and of his learned [16] and accompliſhed queen Edgitha, to promote the intellectual benefit of the people. But the arrival of the Normans proved beneficial to the cauſe of learning, which, at that period, flouriſhed more on the continent than in England. Moſt of the clergy who accompanied the firſt William into this kingdom, or who came over after he had eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne, were far ſuperior to any of the cotemporary Engliſh in literary acquiſitions. Of the eccleſiaſtics who flouriſhed under this monarch, Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was the moſt celebrated for his learning and abilities. He had acquired a high fame for his lectures on logic and ſcholaſtic theology, before his elevation to the primacy of England; and his defence of tranſubſtantiation procured him the general applauſe of the advocates of the ſee of Rome. While he filled the metropolitan chair, he endeavoured to revive among the Engliſh a taſte for mental improvement; and his efforts ſeem to have been attended with ſucceſs.

Archbiſhop Anſelm was one of the pupils of Lanfranc in Normandy; and his ſubſequent reputation for learning was nearly equal to that of his inſtructor.

Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, the ſecretary and confidential friend of Anſelm, wrote a hiſtory of his own times (from the year 1066 to 1122), in which he principally dwells on eccleſiaſtical affairs. Though near two-thirds of his work may be rather termed a life of Anſelm, than a hiſtory of England, there are many political facts interſperſed throughout it, by which it is rendered an uſeful and intereſting production. His ſtyle is tolerably pure, and ſometimes elegant; his arrangement is more methodical and judicious than that of moſt of our early hiſtorians; and,

16. Ingulph. Hiſt. p. 509.

not-

notwithſtanding his prejudices in favor of Anſelm, and his ſupport of the papal ſupremacy, he is, upon the whole, an impartial writer. His fame was ſo great, that Alexander I. king of Scotland, ſent for him to fill the ſee of St. Andrew's; but, after he had received inveſtiture, he loſt his biſhopric by refuſing to be conſecrated by any prelate except the archbiſhop of Canterbury [17]; for Alexander would never ſuffer him to return to it, even when he promiſed a full compliance with that monarch's will. Turgot, one of the predeceſſors of Eadmer in the ſee of St. Andrew's, was an Engliſhman of learning and merit, and wrote the life of Malcolm Canmore, king of Scotland, as well as an hiſtory of the church of Durham, which Simeon, precentor of that church, publiſhed under his own name [18]. Ab A D. 1066. ad 1154.

Ingulph, who flouriſhed in the reigns of the Conqueror and his two ſons, was a man of erudition and capacity; and having acted as ſecretary to the firſt of thoſe princes before his invaſion of England, he was afterwards promoted by him to the government of Croyland abbey, affording an exception to the general rule adopted by that monarch, of filling both the civil and eccleſiaſtical dignities of this kingdom with foreigners; for Ingulph was born in London of Anglo-Saxon parents. He publiſhed a well-written hiſtory of the abbey over which he preſided; a work that contains a variety of particulars reſpecting the political affairs of England, from the time of Penda, king of Mercia, to the latter end of the eleventh century.

One of the moſt celebrated Engliſh divines in the twelfth century, was Robert White, who read theological lectures at Oxford with ſuch reputation, as procured him an invitation to Rome from Celeſtine II.

17. Eadm. Hiſt. lib. v. et vi.

18. Seldeni Præfat. ad Decem Scriptores, p. 4.

Ab A D. 1066. ad 1154. by whoſe ſucceſſor Lucius he was elevated to the rank of a cardinal.

Oſmund, who was both biſhop of Saliſbury and earl of Dorſet in the reigns of the two Williams, was a learned prelate, as well as an able politician. He is principally known by the liturgy which he compiled for the uſe of his own church, and which was ſoon adopted in moſt of the Engliſh churches.

Joffrid, who ſucceeded Ingulph as abbot of Croyland, was a Frenchman of learning, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſending (as we are expreſly informed by Peter of Blois), to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge[19], four Norman monks, who employed themſelves in teaching the ſciences in that town, and thus contributed to the revival (or, as others ſay, the foundation) of that illuſtrious univerſity.

Florence, a monk of Worceſter, was the author of a chronicle, ending at the year 1117. He is much inferior, as a writer, to William of Malmſbury, his cotemporary, who is juſtly celebrated as one of the beſt hiſtorians of the middle ages; whoſe diction has more purity and elegance than could have been expected from the times in which he lived; who has enriched his narrative with a ſpirit of philoſophy, uncommon among the monkiſh writers; and whoſe works, though diſgraced by the occaſional mention of the miracles of ſuperſtition, may even give pleaſure in the peruſal to the faſtidious ſcholars of the preſent day. Beſides five books of civil hiſtory, and a ſhort ſupplement, he wrote a copious biography of the Engliſh prelates. He officiated as librarian of the abbey of Malmſbury, where he died before the middle of the twelfth century. The patron of this ingenious monk was Robert earl of Gloceſter, to whom he dedicated his hiſtory.

19. In the year 1109.

In

In the ſame century lived Simeon, precentor of Durham, who was a great collector of hiſtorical records, and wrote a chronicle of the kings of England to the year 1130, which was continued to 1156 by John, prior of Hexham. He has borrowed much from Florence of Worceſter, who was himſelf greatly indebted to Marianus Scotus. A.D. 1066. ad 1144.

Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, was no contemptible hiſtorian, and was one of the beſt poets of his time. He was patroniſed by Alexander biſhop of Lincoln, one of the prelates whoſe wealth and influence attracted, as the reader has before ſeen, the jealouſy and violence of Stephen. About the ſame time lived Geoffrey of Monmouth, biſhop of St. Aſaph, the tranſlator (as ſome think) of a Welſh hiſtory of Britain, or (as others ſuppoſe) the inventor of moſt of the fables which appear in the hiſtory publiſhed under his name.

Ealred or Ethelred, abbot of Rievaulx in Yorkſhire, was a writer of ſome merit, and publiſhed a life of Edward the Confeſſor, a genealogy of the kings of England, and an hiſtory of the war between the Engliſh and Scots in the reign of Stephen. Cotemporary with this abbot was Alfred of Beverley, who, though he has occaſionally borrowed from Geoffrey of Monmouth, is, in general, much more deſerving of attention than that inventive genius.

Godfrey, prior of Wincheſter, is celebrated by William of Malmſbury as an elegant writer, and an ingenious epigrammatiſt. Though in his epigrams he gave vent to ſatirical effuſions, he was as much inclined to praiſe as to cenſure; for he exerciſed his poetical talents in compoſing a panegyric on the different primates of England.

Ab A. D. 1066. ad 1154.

William of Poictiers, chaplain to the firſt William, wrote an hiſtory of the Conqueſt, with leſs partiality than might have been expected from his ſituation; and Ordericus Vitalis, who, though a native of England, was a monk of St. Eurole's in Normandy, was the author of an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, which includes many of the political tranſactions of the reigns of the four firſt Norman kings.

In treating of the literature of this period, it would be improper to omit the mention of the Saxon Chronicle, one of the moſt authentic monuments of Engliſh hiſtory. It is brought down to the laſt year of Stephen's reign; and chiefly conſiſts of the bare narration of events, unaccompanied with the leaſt detail of cauſes or circumſtances. It was written by different hands, doubtleſs by Anglo-Saxon eccleſiaſtics, whoſe names, however, have not reached us.

BRITISH
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HENRY II.

Publish'd as the Act directs by C. Stalker 14 Jan.y 1791.

BOOK IV.

From the ACCESSION of HENRY II. to the Deceaſe of KING JOHN.

CHAP. I.

HENRY II.

Henry Plantagenet ſucceeds to the crown without oppoſition.—He reſumes the grants both of Stephen and the empreſs.—The king of Scotland reſtores the three northern counties of England to Henry.—The Welſh are reduced to ſubmiſſion by the Engliſh monarch.—Henry undertakes an expedition againſt Toulouſe, which involves him in a war with France.—He orders a ſurvey to be taken of the lands of his kingdom.

THE tranquillity which the nation had enjoyed in conſequence of the pacification between Stephen and Henry Plantagenet, would, in all probability, have been interrupted, if the former had long ſurvived. He was urged by his favorite counſellors to take the firſt opportunity of renouncing a treaty which put him ſo much in the power of the duke of Normandy. He affected to reſiſt their ſolicitations; but, as he delayed the diſmiſſion of his foreign mercenaries, and violated the compact in ſome other reſpects, he ſhowed himſelf too much inclined to follow the ſiniſter advice which he had received. A prince of Henry's high ſpirit would not have long acquieſced in theſe infractions of fidelity; and the efforts of thoſe ſeditious nobles whoſe aim was to produce a rupture between the two princes[1], would perhaps have terminated in a re- A. D. 1154.

1. Hen. Hunt. lib. viii.

A. D. 1154. newal of the horrors from which the kingdom had ſo lately emerged, had not the death of Stephen intervened.

The intelligence of this unexpected event reached Henry at a time when he was beſieging the fortreſs of a refractory baron on his Norman frontiers, after having concluded a peace with the king of France. His conſciouſneſs of the ſtrength of his party in England, and of the great improbability of any oppoſition to his hereditary right, confirmed as it had been by the ſanction of two national councils, diſpelled from his mind all fears of ſupplantation. The only perſon from whom any competition could be apprehended, was William the ſon of Stephen; but his talents were of too mean a caſt, and his influence too contemptible, to afford him any hopes of ſucceſs againſt the power and reputation of Henry. The duke, therefore, not thinking his immediate preſence neceſſary in this kingdom, continued the ſiege in which the Engliſh meſſengers had found him employed. When he had reduced the caſtle, he repaired to Rouen, where he conferred on the circumſtances of his ſituation with his mother the empreſs, as well as with the principal nobility of the duchy; then proceeding to the port of Barfleur, he prepared for his voyage to the dominions which had now devolved to him. After a month's detention, which was the conſequence of adverſe winds, he ſet ſail for England, accompanied by his ducheſs, his two brothers, and a magnificent train of barons. He was welcomed, on his arrival, with the loudeſt acclamations, and with grateful effuſions of heart-felt joy. The nation, wearied with a long ſucceſſion of turmoils and misfortunes, hailed him as the reſtorer of peace and proſperity [2].

2. Chron. Gervaſ. col. 1376.—Chron. Norm. p. 989.—Gul. Neubrig.

In

In the interval between the death of the late king and the appearance of his ſucceſſor, Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, one of Henry's warmeſt friends, ably governed the realm at the head of a regency. He afterwards officiated at the coronation of the new king and queen, which was ſolemniſed in the abbey of Weſtminſter with an extraordinary attendance of rank and faſhion. A. D. 1154. Dec. 19.

Prudence and vigor marked the opening of Henry's reign. He iſſued a proclamation, commanding all the foreigners whom Stephen had enliſted under his banners to retire from the kingdom within a limited term, on pain of death. This order was extremely agreeable to the Engliſh, jealous as they were of foreign influence, and exaſperated by the inſults and depredations which they had ſuffered from the mercenaries. Dreading the ſeverity of Henry's juſtice, theſe freebooters would not venture to diſobey his edict [3], though they ſubmitted with the greateſt reluctance to the evacuation of a country where they had long rioted on the ſpoils of the natives. William d'Ypres, their general, was particularly unwilling to relinquiſh his earldom of Kent; but he was obliged to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times; and retiring to the continent with his troops, he contracted, from this unfortunate change in his affairs, a diſguſt to the world, and paſſed the remainder of his days in a Flemiſh monaſtery. A. D. 1155.

As that article of the treaty of Wincheſter which enjoined the demolition of the caſtles erected in Stephen's reign, had not been fully adhered to, Henry's next care was to deſtroy theſe ſeats of iniquity. This

3. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.—Chron. Hemingf. lib. ii.—It is aſſerted, in Dr. Powel's Welſh Chronicle, that many of the Flemings who conſtituted a part of this army of mercenaries, were permitted by Henry to ſettle in Pembrokeſhire, among their countrymen who had been there planted by his royal grandfather.

A.D. 1155. measure was now completely executed, with the exception of particular fortresses which the king considered as necessary for the defence of the realm [4]. While Henry was superintending the performance of his orders in this respect, William Peverel, a powerful baron, accused of having poisoned the earl of Chester in the late reign, assumed the monastic habit with a view of eluding the punishment due to his guilt; but the demands of justice being superior, in the king's eye, to the superstitious reverence of a sanctuary, he approached the monastery in which the criminal had sought refuge. Peverel, alarmed at the danger which impended over him, fled from the convent, and made his escape beyond sea; while Henry, treating him as an outlaw, seised his castles and estates, convincing his new subjects, by this conduct, that the impunity of crimes would not prevail under his government, as it had in the reign of his predecessor.

The demesnes of the crown having been extremely diminished by the lavish distributions of Stephen, Henry consulted the assembly of the nation on the propriety of revoking the grants of lands and honors conferred by that prince; a measure in which the majority concurred. That this resumption might not be imputed to motives of resentment and vengeance, it was also extended to the grants with which the empress had rewarded her adherents. Though an opposition was made to the execution of this resolve by the earl of Albemarle, and some other nobles, it was at length enforced by the vigorous proceedings of Henry [5].

In the choice of his council, the youthful king displayed all the judgment of more matured life. He selected, for that important trust, men of approved in-

4. Hoved. p. 281.—Gervas. Chron.

5. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.

tegrity,

tegrity, experience, and talent. In the diſtribution of juſtice, few princes were ever more vigilant or impartial. He liſtened to the complaints of injury or oppreſſion; he redreſſed the grievances even of the meaneſt individuals; he puniſhed delinquency in perſons of all ranks. He neglected no circumſtance that could tend to reſtore the ſecurity and welfare of the people, or revive thoſe ſpirits which had drooped under a ſeries of calamities. In a national council, he granted a charter of libertics, confirming that which his grandfather, the firſt Henry, had promulgated at the beginning of his reign, but which that prince had not very ſcrupulouſly obſerved. Theſe inſtances of his paternal regard for his ſubjects, could not fail of conciliating their gratitude, attachment, and ſupport. A. D. 1155.

To prevent the evils of a diſputed ſucceſſion, and ſecure the crown to his own family, he ſummoned a great council at Wallingford, the members of which he eaſily perſuaded to take an oath of fealty to his eldeſt ſon William, as the immediate ſucceſſor of his father, and (in the event of that young prince's death) to his ſecond ſon Henry, then newly born [6].

Having thus ſtrengthened his government againſt the attempts of faction, and eſtabliſhed the peace of his kingdom, he paſſed over to his continental dominions, where his preſence was requiſite to check the ambition of his brother Geoffrey. That prince is ſaid to have preferred a claim to the counties of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, alleging his father's teſtamentary deſignation, by which thoſe territories were to devolve on him whenever his elder brother ſhould add the poſſeſſion of England to that of Normandy. This contingency being now accompliſhed, Geoffrey was importunate in his applications for the three counties; A. D. 1156.

6. Chron. Gervaſ.—Matth. Par.

but

A. D. 1156. but Henry, though he had been induced to ſwear to the ſtrict execution of his father's will before he was acquainted with it's purport, had prevailed on the pope (as we are informed by a cotemporary author) to diſpenſe with his obſervance of an oath into which he had been ſurpriſed, and which was in itſelf unjuſt, as it deprived him of an inheritance due to him by right of primogeniture. Whether this account of the will of Geoffrey Plantagenet, which is not mentioned by any hiſtorian of that century, except William of Newburgh, be really true, though nothing of the kind is ſtated by other cotemporary writers who were better acquainted than that Engliſhman with the circumſtances of Geoffrey's life and death; or whether the pretenſions of young Geoffrey were founded ſolely in his own ambition, and his diſcontent at the ſmallneſs of his *appanage*, which conſiſted of three caſtles; this prince inconſiderately revolted from his powerful brother, and endeavoured to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the Anjevin dominions.

Henry, who, ſoon after his landing on the continent, had repaired to the French court to renew his homage to Lewis for Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and their dependencies, now marched againſt Geoffrey, took by ſtorm two of his caſtles, and, on his ſurrendering the other, conſented to allow him a penſion ſuitable to his rank. About the ſame time, Geoffrey received ſome recompence for his diſappointment in Anjou, by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants of the city and county of Nantes, who, having expelled count Hoël from this territory, which was the only part he had retained of the duchy of Bretagne, (his father Conan, the late duke, having diſinherited him on pretence of illegitimacy), fixed upon the brother of the Engliſh monarch for their count [7].

7. Chron. Norm.—Gul. Neubrig.

The

The king's reſidence on the continent was protracted by an incident which aroſe from the greatneſs of his reputation. The earl of Flanders, inſtigated by a point of devotion to make a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, committed the protection of his infant ſon, and the regency of his dominions, to Henry, of whoſe wiſdom and integrity he had a high opinion. The regent diſcharged his truſt with ſuch zeal and fidelity, as contributed to eſtabliſh his fame, and extend his influence. A. D. 1156.

On his return to England, Henry formed the reſolution of demanding the ſurrender of the ſhires of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland, which had for ſome years been in the hands of the Scots. If he had really (as it is reported) taken an oath, when he received from David the honor of knighthood at Carliſle, that he would not, when king of England, reſume theſe counties, he probably regarded this oath as deprived of it's validity by the non-performance of David's engagements to aſſiſt him on that occaſion againſt Stephen. He ſent ambaſſadors to Malcolm IV. the grandſon and immediate ſucceſſor of David, requiring him to reſtore the counties in queſtion, as they had been unjuſtly diſmembered from the kingdom of England. Malcolm, who was then a minor, conſulted his miniſters on the ſubject of this demand; and, after ſome deliberation, it was determined by the lords of his council, that the deſired reſtitution ſhould be made without delay, from a prudent unwillingneſs to embroil the nation, during a minority, in a war with a formidable neighbour. In conſideration of the eaſy compliance of the Scottiſh king with his requiſition, Henry granted to him the earldom of Huntingdon, which, on the death of his father, prince Henry of Scotland, had been conferred by Stephen on the earl of A. D. 1157.

A. D. 1157. of Northampton. For this dignity, as well as for Lothian, Malcolm did homage to the king of England at Cheſter [8].

All the dominions of Henry being in perfect peace, he reſolved to undertake an expedition againſt the Welſh, who, taking advantage of the civil diſſenſions which agitated the reign of Stephen, had ſhaken off the Engliſh yoke, and had recovered a conſiderable part of the territories which had been wreſted from them ſince the acceſſion of William I. They had obtained ſome ſanguinary victories over the Flemiſh, Engliſh, and Norman coloniſts; and, if their internal diviſions had not checked the career of their ſucceſs, they might perhaps have been able to expel every foreigner from the principality. Henry was eager to re-gain the diſtricts which the Welſh had re-taken during the confuſions of the late reign; and he was inſtigated to this attempt not only by his own ambition, but by the ſuggeſtions of ſome of the petty princes of Wales, hoſtile to the independence of their native country [9].

Having aſſembled a numerous army, he advanced to Cheſter, and thence proceeded into Flintſhire, where Owen Gwynneth, prince of North-Wales, prepared to endanger his progreſs by various ambuſcades. While the king was marching onward, with a determination of attacking the Welſh prince, he incautiouſly entered a narrow paſs, where the enemy ſuddenly aſſailed his van from the woody precipices on each ſide of the defile, with ſhowers of arrows and ſtones. This furious aſſault threw the invaders into extreme conſternation. The impracticability of reſcuing themſelves from their dangerous ſituation, filled them with horror and diſmay;

8. Chron. Mailr. ad ann. 1157.—Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.
9. Powel's Welſh Chron.

two of Henry's barons, and the greater part of his van, fell on the occaſion; and though the king himſelf effected his retreat, the report of his death diffuſed ſuch a panic among the reſt of his forces, who were advancing to the entrance of the defile, that Henry of Eſſex, a baron who enjoyed the hereditary office of ſtandard-bearer of England, ſeiſed with a ſudden terror, threw away the royal enſign, and fled in the moſt precipitate manner, crying out to thoſe whom he met, that their ſovereign was ſlain [10]. The Welſh, perceiving the diſorder which now prevailed through the royal army, deſcended from the hills, and attacked the diſpirited foe with all the confidence of victory. A total rout of the Engliſh would probably have enſued, had not the king preſented himſelf before them, and diſſipated their dejection by his courage and alacrity. He inſtantly rallied them, and, by a vigorous aſſault, compelled the enemy to retire. He then called a council of his officers, to deliberate on the future proſecution of this war; and it was agreed that they ſhould march nearer the coaſt, and that the fleet, which had aſſembled at Cheſter, ſhould co-operate with the army by making occaſional deſcents. He now reduced the whole county of Flint; while Owen Gwynneth retreated towards Snowdon. Henry, to ſecure the territory which he had recovered, repaired the fortreſſes of Rhudlan and Baſingwerk, which the Welſh had diſmantled; and, by the other precautions which he took

A. D. 1157.

10. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.—For this inſtance of miſconduct, Henry of Eſſex was, ſix years afterwards, impeached in form by Robert de Montfort; and, a trial by duel taking place, the accuſed perſon was vanquiſhed, but was ſaved from the capital puniſhment of his guilt by the clemency of the king, who permitted him to become a monk in the abbey of Reading, while his ample eſtates were confiſcated, as he was diſqualified, by the rigor of chivalry, for holding lands by baronry or knight-ſervice.

againſt

A D. 1157. againſt the attempts of that people, as well as for the facilitation of further conqueſts, he ſtruck ſuch terror into the heart of Owen, that envoys were diſpatched by this prince to ſue for an accommodation, which Henry granted on the following terms. He ſtipulated that Owen ſhould perform homage to him, cede all the diſtricts in North-Wales which had been recovered from the Engliſh in the reign of Stephen, and deliver two of his ſons as hoſtages for his pacific deportment [11]. Thus was the dependence of North-Wales on the Engliſh monarchy reclaimed; and, in the ſucceeding year,

A. D. 1158. the inferior princes of South-Wales were induced to yield all the territories which they had regained from the Engliſh ſince the death of Henry I. and to gratify his ambitious grandſon with the feudal ſubmiſſions. Rhees ap Griffith, however, the chief prince of South-Wales, endeavoured, for ſome time, to avoid the diſgrace of ſubjection; but, being alternately aſſailed by Henry with the invitations of kindneſs and the menaces of reſentment, he at length conſented to do homage to the king of England, who confirmed to him the poſſeſſion of the demeſnes of his progenitors, though he obliged him to reſtore what he had won from the Engliſh during Stephen's reign.

The death of the king's brother Geoffrey, count of Nantes, now called him from England, where he had lately made ſome judicious regulations for the benefit of his ſubjects, and had, in particular, redreſſed a national grievance by calling in the debaſed coin both of the late king and the independent barons, and iſſuing a new mintage of proper weight and purity. Having an intention of claiming the county of Nantes, as heir to his brother, he repaired to the continent; and, in an interview with the French king, whom he wiſhed

11. Chron. Gervaſ.—Ann. Waverl.—Gul. Neubrig.

to ſecure in his intereſts, that his ambitious views might meet with no obſtruction, he obtained that monarch's conſent to a marriage between Henry, the prince-royal of England (the king's eldeſt ſon William having died two years before), and Margaret, daughter of Lewis, not by the divorced Eleanor, but by his ſecond wife Conſtantia of Caſtile. While the conditions of this match were in a train of adjuſtment, being conducted on the part of Henry, by an able negotiator, Thomas Becket, chancellor of England, the king made preparations in Normandy for an expedition againſt Conan, who, after a courſe of hoſtilities with Eudo, the ſon-in-law of the late duke of Bretagne, had gained poſſeſſion of the whole of that duchy, except the county of Nantes, which he had lately ſeiſed on the death of Geoffrey. Conan having refuſed to admit the claim of Henry to this diſtrict, which certainly was not valid againſt the pretenſions of the former, who, as grandſon of the late duke, had a right to the undivided duchy, the Engliſh monarch gave immediate orders for the confiſcation of the earldom of Richmond in Yorkſhire, which Conan enjoyed by deſcent. Having procured a commiſſion from Lewis, to determine, in the capacity of grand ſeneſchal of France, (an office which he held as count of Anjou), the diſpute between Eudo and Conan for the dukedom of Bretagne [12], he took advantage of this privilege of arbitration to intimidate the latter into a compliance with his demand of the county of Nantes, in failure of which he could not expect a favorable ſentence from the arbiter. Conan now repaired to Avranches, where Henry had appointed the rendezvous of his new levies; and, after a ſhort conſultation, the duke ceded to that prince the county which he claimed. The ſeneſchal, entering A. D. 1158.

12. Chron. Gervaſ. ad ann. 1158.

Bretagne,

A. D. 1158. Bretagne, pronounced his deciſion in favor of Conan; and, attended by a conſiderable army, took poſſeſſion of the city and territory of Nantes, which he regarded as a prelude to future acquiſitions in that part of the continent. He then quelled an inſurrection in Poictou; and returning into Normandy, he politely entertained the king of France, who had paid a devotional viſit to the abbey of St. Michael's Mount, ſituated in the dominions of Henry. On this occaſion, he made a very ſplendid return for the hoſpitality with which he had lately been treated by Lewis in the French metropolis.

Not content with the ample territories which he poſſeſſed, Henry ſeiſed every opportunity of increaſing them. His queen was the grand-daughter of Philippa, heireſs of William IV. count of Toulouſe. This prince, deſirous of being ſucceeded by his brother Raymond, rather than by his daughter, convêyed the county to him by a private agreement, without the knowledge of the duke of Guienne, among whoſe fiefs it was included. Though this conveyance was deemed illegal, Raymond had found means to keep poſſeſſion of the county for ſome years; and, on his engaging in the firſt cruſade, had left it in the hands of his ſon. The duke of Guienne had then ſeiſed the city and province, which he retained till he himſelf became a cruſard. From this time the county had been ruled by the houſe of Guienne and the deſcendants of Raymond, as the power of the ſword prevailed in favor of either; and it was now occupied by a nobleman of that name, the brother-in-law of the king of France. Though this monarch, before his divorce from Eleanor, had aſſerted her claim to Toulouſe, he had been induced to deſiſt from his attempts for the conqueſt of that territory. But the king of England,

England, who now enjoyed the hand and the rights of Eleanor, was leſs paſſive than her former huſband, and reſolved to proſecute the claim of that princeſs to the inheritance of her great-grand-father William IV. which included the province of Quercy, and a much greater part of Languedoc than is at preſent comprehended under the denomination of the Toloſain. A. D. 1158.

Henry's popularity was ſo great, that he found no difficulty in perſuading his Engliſh ſubjects to contribute to the expences of a diſtant enterpriſe, in which this kingdom had no real concern. To remove the inconvenience that would reſult to his vaſſals in England from ſo long an expedition, in which, from the cuſtom of their tenures, they would themſelves be ſaddled with the charges of the journey, he commuted their military attendance for a certain ſum; and the ſame commutation was extended to his ſubjects in Normandy and Anjou. With the produce of this *ſcutage*, he allured to his ſtandard a great army of ſoldiers of fortune, whoſe ſervice was not only more permanent, but likewiſe more orderly and ſubmiſſive, than that of feudal vaſſals. Having intruſted the command of this force to his moſt experienced barons, and increaſed it by conſiderable levies in his duchy of Aquitaine, as well as by a confederacy which he had formed with the counts of Blois, Montpelier, and Niſmes, he commenced hoſtilities againſt the count of Toulouſe with the ſiege of Cahors, the capital of Quercy [13]. The A. D. 1159.

13. In this expedition, Malcolm king of Scotland attended the Engliſh monarch, as his vaſſal for the earldom of Huntingdon; and king Stephen's ſon William, earl of Boulogne and Surry, ſerved in the ſame campaign. The latter dying in his return, the legitimate male line of Stephen became extinct. Malcolm was inveſted by Henry with the ſword of knighthood, on occaſion of this war; a dignity which the king had refuſed him in a former interview at Carliſle. *Hoveden's Annals.*

A. D. 1159. reduction of this town was followed by other conquests; and Henry, being reinforced by Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona and Provence, and (in his wife's right) king of Arragon, prepared to invest the strong city of Toulouse. Finding, however, that the king of France, won by the importunities of his brother-in-law, had thrown himself into that city with a small force, in the resolution of defending it to the last extremity, he made a sudden pause, to deliberate on the measures proper to be pursued on this occasion. Becket, his chancellor, strongly advised him to assault Toulouse without the least delay, and press the siege before the arrival of the main body of the French army. But his advice was not adopted; for Henry's delicacy was so great, and the desire of exhibiting to others an example of respect for the feudal principles, by which a reverence was enjoined from the vassal towards his superior lord, operated so forcibly on his mind, that he publicly declared his determination of avoiding the siege of a city which was defended by the king of France in person [14], to whom he had sworn the fealty of a vassal, and with whom he was not at war. He continued, however, to act in a hostile manner against the other towns and fortresses belonging to the count of Toulouse; and, after having prosecuted the career of conquest in the south of France, he returned to the northward with the greater part of his army, to protect Normandy from the incursions of the French, who, under the command of the count of Dreux and the bishop of Beauvais, brothers of Lewis, had ravaged, with great inhumanity, the frontiers of that duchy.

The king of France having now become a principal in the quarrel, Henry made an irruption into the do-

14. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.—Vit S. Thomæ Cantuarienſis, à Stephanide.—Dicet. Imag. Hiſt.—Chron. Norm.

minions

minions of that monarch, deſtroyed the caſtle of Gerberoy, and committed other devaſtations in the Beauvoiſis. By the terror of his arms, and by the policy which he diſplayed in procuring the admiſſion of his garriſons into ſeveral French fortreſſes, he diſtreſſed Lewis to ſuch a degree, that he was glad to agree to an armiſtice for half a year, which ended in a peace. By this treaty, Henry retained all his conqueſts in Quercy and Languedoc, except ſome forts which were delivered to the count of Niſmes, as having been formerly in his poſſeſſion. Lewis engaged to reſtore to Henry the Vexin Normand, whenever his ſon ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Margaret of France; and, till that time, Giſors and two other caſtles in that diſtrict were to be conſigned to the cuſtody of three knights templars, who ſhould deliver them into the hands of Henry on the day of the eſpouſals. A. D. 1159. A. D. 1160.

Though peace was thus reſtored between the two kings, a truce only of a year was concluded between Henry and the count of Toulouſe. The former was eager to complete the reduction of ſo valuable a territory, though he had little reaſon to expect that Lewis would connive at the utter ruin of his brother-in-law Raymond, or at the incorporation of his county with the duchy of Aquitaine. The French king now began to be ſenſible of the expediency of reſtraining the ambitious progreſs of a prince who was making large ſtrides towards the attainment of a pre-eminent power, which might perhaps enable him in the ſequel to annihilate the monarchy of France. He revolved in his mind the moſt feaſible meaſures for preventing the encroachments of Henry, and cheriſhed ſuch views as portended danger to that aſpiring prince.

The prince-royal of England, a boy of five years of age, being ſent to his father in Normandy, accom-

A. D. 1160. panied him to the French court on the ratification of the peace, and did homage to Lewis for that duchy. A few weeks afterwards, by Henry's desire, two cardinal legates solemnised the espousals between his son and the princess Margaret, who had been committed by her father to the care of Robert de Neubourg, justiciary of Normandy. Immediately after this ceremony, he demanded of the three knights templars the fortresses which they held in the Vexin Normand. This requisition was readily complied with; but, though such a surrender was consistent with the letter of the late treaty, Lewis was so enraged at the precipitation with which this business had been conducted without his knowledge, that he accused Henry of fraud, and banished the knights templars out of his kingdom for their delivery of the castles. Instigated by the counts of Champagne and Blois, brothers of the lady whom he had lately selected for his third wife, he prepared to make war upon Henry by the next spring, that he

A. D. 1161. might clip the wings of his ambition. When that season arrived, he marched with a strong army into the Vexin Normand, of which the king of England had taken complete possession; but he found it so well defended against the attacks of an enemy, that he soon retired within his own frontiers. Henry pursued and overtook him; but after the two armies had been at different times in sight of each other, without coming to a collision, which each of the royal leaders seemed desirous of avoiding, a truce was proposed by the legates, seconded by some of the chief nobility, and agreed on by the rival kings, who, in the course of the same year, met at the council of Toulouse, and concurred in the recognition of the claim of Alexander III. to the papacy[15].

15. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.—Chron. Norm.—Matth. Par.

From

From this ſynod Henry returned into Normandy, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his active attention to the civil and eccleſiaſtical concerns of the duchy. The ſame political regard was alſo extended to his other dominions on the continent, in which he eſtabliſhed ſuch regulations as did honor to his judgment and ability. While he continued abſent from England, he had an interview at Bourgdieu with the pope whom he had acknowledged; and, ſoon after, that pontiff received, at Touci on the Loire, a ſpecimen of reverential ſubmiſſion from the kings of England and France. Having diſmounted before the holy father, they walked on each ſide of his horſe, each of them holding a rein of his bridle; and, in this reſpectful manner, they conducted him to a pavilion prepared for his accommodation [16]; an animating ſight to the bigots of papal ſupremacy! Alexander took this opportunity of mediating a peace between the two monarchs; and his ſolicitations proved ſucceſsful. A. D. 1161. A. D. 1162.

Leaving his continental territories in peace, Henry now returned to England, where he was received, after an abſence of near four years, with demonſtrations of general joy. Rhees ap Griffith, prince of South-Wales, having ravaged the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in that principality, on pretence that Henry had not ſtrictly adhered to his treaty with him, the king, with that activity which marked his character, advanced into the county of Brecknock, where, without bloodſhed, he intimidated Rhees into ſubmiſſion, and again received the homage and fealty of that prince [17]. A. D. 1163.

Henry then turned his attention to civil affairs; and, by his command, a general inquiſition was taken

16. Chron. Norm.—Baron. Annal. Eccleſiaſt.

17. Annal. de Marg p. 7.—Powel's Welſh Chronicle.

A. D. 1163. throughout England, for ascertaining the number of baronies and knights fees, both at the time of the first Henry's death, and in the present year; and for accurately determining the various services and payments due to the crown [18]. A new survey of this kind was rendered necessary by the confusions of the late reign, and the artful practices which had been adopted for evading a full contribution to the exigencies of the state.

18. Dicet. col. 536.—Matth. Par. p. 95.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Henry endeavours to reclaim the dependence of the clergy on the civil power.—His attempts for this purpoſe are ſtrongly oppoſed by archbiſhop Becket.—The famous Conſtitutions of Clarendon are enacted, in ſupport of the ancient rights of the crown.—The conteſt between the king and Becket riſes to ſuch a height, that the archbiſhop retires from the kingdom.—The duke of Bretagne reſigns his dominions to Henry;—who is ſoon after engaged in hoſtilities with France.—Becket is at length permitted to return to his ſee:—but, in the ſame year, he is aſſaſſinated by four knights.—This murder excites an extraordinary clamor againſt Henry;—who with difficulty eſcapes the thunders of the papal court.

AN intereſting ſcene now opens on the reader's view. A violent conteſt is approaching between the crown and the mitre, between the king and the primate of his realm. A monarch of ſtrong talents and great firmneſs, extremely tenacious of the prerogatives of his anceſtors, and eager to retain his ſubjects of every claſs in due ſubjection to the power allowed him by the conſtitution, will be ſeen contending for ſuperiority with a bold and pertinacious churchman, who, enliſting under the banners of the biſhop of Rome againſt the rights of his natural ſovereign, zealouſly labored to detach the clergy from all dependence on the temporal power, qualifying his allegiance to the king with the diſloyal reſervation of the pretended immunities of the eccleſiaſtical body, and the prepoſterous obedience which he thought proper to give to a A. D. 1163.

A. D. 1163. foreign prelate, who, encouraged by the darkneſs and ſuperſtition of the times, had gradually uſurped an authority over this and other churches of the Chriſtian world.

As the primate who entered the liſts againſt Henry acquired, in his own time, an extraordinary degree of fame, which he ſtill retains in the annals of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and in the calendar of the Romiſh church, a biographical ſketch of ſo eminent a perſonage will be a proper prelude to the narration of the memorable conteſt in which he was engaged. Thomas Becket was the ſon of a citizen of London, of Anglo-Saxon deſcent. After a beginning of education at Merton-abbey in Surry, he continued his ſtudies at Oxford, and made ſome additions to his learning at the univerſity of Paris. On his return to his native city, he was recommended by a clerical friend of his father to archbiſhop Theobald, who, finding him a youth of talent and addreſs, took him into his family, and preſented him, when only a deacon, to two parochial livings and two prebends. With the conſent of his patron, he repaired to Bologna, with a view of ſtudying the civil and canon laws. When he had reſided a year in this celebrated ſchool of legal knowledge, he proſecuted the ſame purſuits at Auxerre. Returning into England with the reputation of an able civilian and an acute canoniſt, he firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in the favor of the archbiſhop, who employed him as his agent in ſeveral negotiations at the court of Rome, which were conducted by Becket with ſuch dexterity and ſucceſs, that Theobald rewarded him with the additional preferments of provoſt of Beverley and dean of Haſtings. In the year of Stephen's death, he was promoted by his liberal patron to the lucrative and important office of archdeacon of Canterbury. The next

ſtation to which he was elevated was that of chancellor of the realm, which he procured by the earneſt recommendation of the primate; and he ſeems to have been the firſt perſon of Engliſh origin who, ſince the days of the Conqueror, had been permitted, by the ceſſation of Norman jealouſy, to riſe to a height of dignity either in the church or the ſtate. A. D. 1163.

With the poſt of chancellor, Becket retained his eccleſiaſtical preferments; and the multiplied income of his various promotions muſt have been extremely agreeable to a perſon of his magnificent and oſtentatious turn. His mode of living, after his appointment to ſo dignified an office, was uncommonly ſplendid and luxurious. His table was acceſſible to every individual of rank; his entertainments were ſumptuous and profuſe; his apartments were enriched with the moſt coſtly furniture; his equipage and retinue were eſtabliſhed on a princely ſcale. His houſe was a ſchool both of civil and military education; and the ſons of the firſt nobility were introduced into his family, that they might receive the moſt judicious inſtructions. Whenever he travelled, he was attended by a great number of knights [1], eſquires, young noblemen, pages, clerks, and officers of his houſehold, well armed and mounted. In his ambaſſy to the court of France, his magnificence excited univerſal admiration, and his princely liberality procured him general reſpect. In the expedition to Toulouſe, he appeared with all the pomp of a feudal baron, being followed by 700 knights of his own eſtabliſhment, each of whom had two attendants on horſeback. During this campaign, he ſignaliſed his valor in the aſſault and reduction of three caſtles,

1. Theſe knights were principally furniſhed by his office of conſtable of the Tower, and his poſſeſſion of the honors of Eye and Berkhamſted.

which

A. D. 1163. which his ſovereign, in conſideration of their great ſtrength, had left unattempted [2]. He encountered, in Normandy, a French knight of diſtinguiſhed ſkill in arms, diſmounted him with his lance, and carried off, in triumph, the courſer of his vanquiſhed antagoniſt. Theſe martial exploits increaſed his favor with the king, who, being himſelf an illuſtrious warrior, was naturally pleaſed with the military merit of his ſubjects. So high, indeed, was his opinion of the general character of Becket, that he intruſted him with the education of the heir of his crown [3]; and, when the archbiſhopric of Canterbury became vacant by the deceaſe of Theobald, he nominated his chancellor to that pre-eminent ſtation.

When the king made this unexpected choice of a primate, he doubtleſs imagined, that, as Becket had hitherto ſerved him with great loyalty and zeal, and, in more than one inſtance, had teſtified an inclination for oppoſing, rather than ſupporting, the immunities claimed by the church, the new archbiſhop might be induced to comply with his intention of bringing back the clergy to that dependence on the civil power, which they had, for many years paſt, endeavoured, with no ſmall ſucceſs, to ſhake off. The empreſs Matilda, who, on this occaſion, diſplayed a greater ſhare of penetration than her ſon, remonſtrated with him on the impropriety of his choice [4]; but Henry, after mature reflexion, was ſo determined on giving the primacy to his favorite miniſter, that he diſregarded all advice, and gave orders to Richard de Lucy, one of his chief juſticiaries, to procure the election of Becket by the monks of Canterbury. The chancellor was by them

2. Vit. S. Thomæ Cant. à Stephanide.

3. Stephan. Vit. S. Thom.—Heribert. Vit. Beck. præfix. Epiſt.

4. Epiſt. Cleri Angliæ, inter Epiſtolas S. Thom. Cant. edit. Brux.

choſen

choſen without any public oppoſition, was ordained prieſt, and conſecrated archbiſhop by Henry of Wincheſter, the brother of the late king [5]. A. D. 1163.

Immediately after his conſecration, Thomas ſent the great ſeal to his ſovereign in Normandy, without deigning to inquire of him whether ſuch a reſignation would be agreeable to his wiſhes. The king, who intended that Becket ſhould unite in his own perſon the firſt civil office and the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignity, was greatly offended at the conduct of the primate, whoſe abdication of the chancellorſhip he regarded as a refuſal of ſerving him in future in the temporal affairs of the realm, and as an omen of the oppoſition which he muſt expect to his deſign of reforming the abuſes of the church, from one whoſe ambition was now diverted into another channel, and who, from a courtier and a ſtateſman, had become a prieſt and a metropolitan.

Becket, on his acceſſion to his new dignity, exhibited a ſudden example of regeneration. The vanities of the world gave way to the auſterities of devotion. He wore a garment of ſack-cloth next to his ſkin; he mortified his body with ſevere flagellation; he diſplayed, on all occaſions, an aſpect of ſerious piety, and Chriſtian humility. He frequently waſhed, with his own hands, the feet of the beggar; his acts of charity and munificence were extremely numerous; and his condeſcenſion to churchmen even of the loweſt order, was the topic of conſtant praiſe. In lieu of the delights of muſic, with which he had been entertained at

5. Though Theobald died in April 1161, Becket was not elected his ſucceſſor till June in the following year; a delay which ſeems to have been the conſequence of the diſagreement of the king's council in a matter of ſuch importance, and of the weighty deliberation which Henry thought it required. Becket was, at this time, about the age of 43; and he had enjoyed the office of chancellor five years.

dinner

A. D. 1163. dinner while he was chancellor, the reading of ſome Latin devotional book by an attendant was now ſubſtituted; and he afterwards retired into another apartment with a ſelect company of learned friends, whoſe converſation was the chief amuſement of his life. But, notwithſtanding the general change in his manners, he ſtill maintained a ſplendid and hoſpitable board, in the delicacies of which he ſometimes indulged, though with his luxury he now intermingled the rigors of occaſional abſtinence [6].

On the king's return to England after his interview with the pope, he was met at Southampton by the primate, whom he received with viſible coolneſs. He ſoon after inſiſted on Becket's reſignation of the archdeaconry of Canterbury; a demand with which that prelate reluctantly complied [7]. The archbiſhop's conduct, after his return from the council of Tours, which the king had permitted him to attend, contributed to augment Henry's diſſatisfaction at the choice which he himſelf had made. Pope Alexander, by whom this ſynod had been convened, had treated Becket with extraordinary honors; and, in the private converſation which paſſed between them at the place of meeting, it is probable that his holineſs encouraged the primate in the deſign which he had by this time formed, of ſtanding forth as the inflexible aſſertor of eccleſiaſtical immunities, and as the opponent of the conſtitutional rights of the temporal power, wherever they interfered with that independence to which the ſpiritual zealots of thoſe times ſo eagerly aſpired. Returning from the council with a freſh portion of clerical ardor, and of enmity againſt thoſe whom he conſidered as the oppreſſors of the church, but whoſe chief aim was to prevent the en-

6. Stephanid. Vit. Beck.—Chron. Gervaſ.—Vit. Beck. præfix. Epiſt. 7. Dicet. Imag. Hiſtor. col. 534.

croach-

croachments of that body, he advanced a variety of claims to lands which had formerly belonged, as he aſſerted, to the ſee of Canterbury, and had been afterwards uſurped either by the king or his barons. Some of his claims extended to eſtates which had been reſtored to the crown, on Henry's acceſſion, by his general act of reſumption. Though his pretenſions were not admitted, he ſtill perſiſted in demands of this nature, to the great diſpleaſure of the king. Not content with exerting all his efforts to increaſe the poſſeſſions of his ſee, he invaded the rights of lay patronage, by collating one Laurence to the church of Eynesford in Kent, on the ground of it's being his prerogative to preſent to all vacant benefices within the manors of his military tenants, of whom the patron of this living was one, though he was alſo an immediate tenant of the crown. William of Eynesford, tenacious of his rights, expelled the agents who, in the name of Laurence, had taken poſſeſſion of that church. The archbiſhop reſenting the conduct of William, pronounced againſt him a ſentence of excommunication, without the knowledge of the king, in repugnance to a law enacted by the Conqueror, purporting that none of the king's ſervants, nor any of his immediate tenants, ſhould be excommunicated without his conſent[8]. Henry commanded Becket to abſolve William of the ſentence; but the primate arrogantly replied, that it was not a part of the king's prerogative to order any perſon either to be excommunicated or abſolved. A repetition, however, of the royal mandate enforced the ungracious compliance of the archbiſhop[9].

A. D. 1163.

The encroachments of the church on the ſtate, and the abuſes of eccleſiaſtical government, had now become ſo flagrant, as to call for an effectual control, and

8. Eadm. p. 6.—Dicet. 9. Stephan. Vit. Beck.

a ſpeedy

A. D. 1163. a ſpeedy reformation. The clergy affected to regard themſelves rather as the ſubjects of the Romiſh pontiff than of the ſovereign whoſe dominions they inhabited; and though they profeſſed a loyalty to the temporal monarch, they reſerved to themſelves, either mentally or verbally, a preferable adherence to the commands of the pope, and the dogmas of general councils. Taking advantage of the late king's facility of conceſſion, as well as of the diſturbances of his reign, they had withdrawn the criminals of their order from the juriſdiction of the civil power; and, by the ſlight puniſhment which the ſpiritual courts inflicted on delinquents of their own body, ſuch an encouragement was given to the moſt atrocious crimes, when committed by eccleſiaſtics, that the peace of ſociety was continually invaded by offenders of that denomination, who, confiding in the immunities which they claimed, inſulted the royal officers of juſtice, and defied the interpoſition of the crown.

To repreſs theſe enormities, and ſtem the tide of clerical independence before it had been ſanctioned by preſcription, Henry reſolved to exert all the power annexed to his ſtation. A clergyman having deflowered a young lady of Worceſterſhire, and completed his iniquity by the aſſaſſination of her father, the king inſiſted on his being tried before that tribunal which alone was competent to take cogniſance of the crime of murder; but the primate oppoſed this reaſonable demand, and, to prevent the delinquent from being apprehended by the civil officers, confined him in the epiſcopal priſon. The indignation of the public being raiſed to a high pitch againſt clerical malefactors, who, ſince the commencement of Henry's reign, had been guilty of a ſeries of murders (computed by a cotemporary hiſtorian at one hundred [10]), the king ſummon-

10. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 16.

ed

ed all the prelates of the realm to meet him at Weſtminſter, where he addreſſed them in an animated harangue, in which he diſplayed all the eloquence of the firſt Henry. He complained of the notorious corruption of the eccleſiaſtical courts, which extorted money from the innocent as well as guilty, and, by allowing pecuniary commutations for the puniſhment of crimes, had rendered the ſins of the people a copious ſource of revenue to the clergy. He expatiated on the multiplied miſchiefs which the kingdom had ſuffered from the ſcandalous proceedings of the moſt nefarious wretches, who, entrenched within the rampart of holy orders, which the biſhops made no ſcruple of granting to the unworthy, openly braved the juſtice of the nation; who, diſregarding the cenſures of their own courts, perpetrated the moſt infamous acts of violence, rapine, and murder; and who, though the ſanctity of the character which they had aſſumed increaſed, by contraſt, the enormity of their crimes, and called even for a greater ſeverity of chaſtiſement than was due to laymen, were ſuffered to eſcape the puniſhment which their iniquities deſerved, and ſheltered from the juſt cogniſance of the civil judicature. He cloſed his ſpeech with requiring, that all eccleſiaſtics who ſhould be convicted, by proof or confeſſion, of any heinous offence againſt ſociety, ſhould firſt be degraded, and then delivered over to the ſecular court, that they might receive ſuch corporal puniſhment as the laws of the realm had annexed to their reſpective crimes [11]. A. D. 1163.

Becket endeavoured to procure the king's conſent for the protraction of the anſwer to this demand till the next morning; for he was apprehenſive that, while the impreſſion of the royal eloquence was warm, the

11. Stephan. Vit. Beck.

majority

A. D. 1163. majority of the biſhops might be induced to acquieſce in the propriety of the requiſition. Their reply, however, being deſired by the king without delay, the archbiſhop conferred apart with the other prelates, moſt of whom he found inclined to accede to the demand; but his arguments had ſuch an effect in counteracting the force of Henry's oration, that they unanimouſly concurred with their primate in refuſing aſſent to the propoſitions of their ſovereign. They declared, that it was an invaſion of the privileges of the church to ſubject an eccleſiaſtic to the cogniſance of a ſecular court, for any crime whatever; and that, as degradation from the ſpiritual function was in itſelf a puniſhment, it would be an act of injuſtice to expoſe an offender to a ſentence of the civil court, for the ſame crime for which he had been before puniſhed by a clerical judge. The king then put to them a ſhort interrogatory: "Are you willing to obſerve the an-"cient laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom?" Becket conſulted with his brethren on this queſtion, and then evaſively promiſed to ſubmit to thoſe laws and cuſtoms, with a reſervation of the privileges of his order, and the honor of God. The other prelates made the ſame reply; at which the king was highly incenſed. He ſaid to theſe champions of clerical immunities, "I "perceive that a line of battle is formed againſt me, "and that much future miſchief lurks under the qua-"lifying expreſſions which you have adopted. I in-"ſiſt on your declaring, in abſolute terms, a readineſs "to obey the laws and inſtitutions which prevailed in "the reign of my royal grandfather." Not diſmayed by the king's firmneſs, the primate, and all the biſhops, except Hilary of Chicheſter, perſiſted in the limitations which they had affixed to their promiſe. Enraged at their pertinacity, Henry abruptly retired from the

the assembly; and, the next morning, he sent a mes- A. D. 1163.
sage to the archbishop, intimating his desire that the prince-royal should be immediately discharged from his tuition, and that he should deliver up those castles which had been committed to his custody while he acted as chancellor, but which he had not thought proper to restore at the time of his resignation of the great seal [12]. Becket could not refuse a compliance with these demands; and, though the king was prompted to make them by a spirit of resentment, it reflects little credit on the boasted disinterestedness of the primate's character, that, when he resigned the employment of chancellor as incompatible with the duties of a metropolitan, he should still have retained those appendages of his former station which were calculated to augment his power and opulence.

The king now endeavoured to divide the members of the episcopal bench, and draw off the majority from the banners of the primate, to whose influence he chiefly attributed their resistance. In these intrigues he met with some success; but, when he exerted his policy against Becket himself, and tried the alternate efficacy of entreaties and commands, of promises and threats, he found all his attempts fruitless, till the arrival of a papal legate, who prevailed on the archbishop to pacify the king's wrath by promising, without exception or reserve, that he would adhere to the ancient customs of the realm [13].

Being desirous of determining the rights of the civil power in so decisive a manner as should preclude all further dispute, Henry resolved to submit the affair to the deliberation of a national council, which he con- A. D. 1164.
voked, in the beginning of the following year, at Claren-

12. Chron. Gervas.—Hist. Quadripart. Vit. S. Thom. Cant. edit. Par. 1495. 13. Hoved. p. 282.—Stephan. Vit. Beck.

A. D. 1164. don in Wiltshire. The laws of which he solicited the recognition, were committed to writing; and, after a debate of three days between the laic and clerical members of the assembly, during which the former assailed the prelates with menaces of violence, they were confirmed by general oaths of observance, in which Becket himself, though with strong reluctance, concurred [14]. The statutes enacted on this occasion, are known in history by the appellation of the Constitutions of Clarendon. Of the most important of them, the substance was, that all controversies relative to the advowson and presentation of churches should be determined in the king's court: that clergymen, accused of any crime whatever, should, when summoned by one of the king's justiciaries, come into his court, to answer for what should appear to be there cognisable; and should answer, in the ecclesiastical court, for what was determinable by that judicature; the royal justiciary being allowed to send an officer to the spiritual court, to witness the manner in which the cause should there be tried: that no clergymen of the higher order should quit the kingdom without a licence from the king; that laymen should not be tried in a spiritual court, except on the prosecution of legal and reputable accusers, and on the evidence of respectable witnesses; and that, if none should be willing to accuse such delinquents, the sheriff, on the bishop's requisition, should collect a jury of twelve inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who should declare the truth before the bishop: that none of the king's servants or ministers, of the officers of his demesne lands, or of his tenants in chief, should be excommunicated without his permission: that appeals in spiritual causes should be made

14. Stephan. Vit. Beck. p. 33. — Chron. Gervas. — Epist. S. Thomæ.

from the court of the archdeacon to that of the biſhop, from him to the archbiſhop, and, in failure of juſtice from the metropolitan, to the king, who ſhould order the archbiſhop to determine the cauſe; from which deciſion no appeal ſhould be made but by the king's conſent: that all diſputes whether certain tenements be eccleſiaſtical or lay fees, ſhould be decided before the king's chief juſticiary, by the verdict of twelve lawful men; that, if the tenement in queſtion ſhould be proved to be a lay fee, any ſuit concerning the poſſeſſion of it ſhould be tried in a civil court; and, if an eccleſiaſtical fee, in a ſpiritual court: that archbiſhops, biſhops, and other churchmen who held in chief of the king, ſhould be deemed barons of the realm, and ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges, and undergo the ſame burthens, with the temporal nobility: that the king ſhould receive the rents of vacant ſees, and monaſteries of royal foundation: that the election for the ſupply of ſuch vacancies ſhould be conducted in the king's chapel, by the principal members of the chapter or the convent; but that the royal aſſent ſhould be neceſſary for the confirmation of the choice: that the perſon thus elected ſhould do homage and ſwear fealty to the ſovereign: that the king ſhould aſſiſt the prelates and the archdeacons, in procuring a ſubmiſſion to the lawful decrees of their courts, and *vice verſâ*; and that all pleas of debt ſhould be tried in the civil courts [15]. A.D. 1164.

Theſe ordinances, tending to the due ſupport of the temporal power, and the annihilation of thoſe privileges of the clergy, which, however concordant with the papal canons, were incompatible with the true ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, were univerſally reprobated by the adherents of the apoſtolic ſee, and the advocates of eccleſiaſtical independence. The pope, be-

15. Chron. Gervaſ.—Matth. Par.—Hiſt. Quadripart.

A. D. 1164. ing requeſted by Henry to confirm theſe conſtitutions, condemned the greater part of them, as repugnant to the canons of the church, and peremptorily refuſed to give them his ratification. The primate, mortified at his having been prevailed on to aſſent to laws which were ſo contrary to his own views and inclinations, affected to puniſh himſelf for his acquieſcence in ſuch profane regulations, by a courſe of penance and auſterity. He even ſuſpended himſelf from his ſacerdotal functions, till he had received abſolution from the pope for ſo criminal a compliance with the wiſhes of his ſovereign, and the demands of conſtitutional juſtice. Alexander, informed of the penitence of the devout archbiſhop, readily abſolved him from the oath which he had taken to ſupport the obnoxious code, and deſired him to reſume the exerciſe of his ſpiritual office [16].

With a view of humbling the haughty primate, Henry ſolicited the pope to grant a legatine commiſſion to Roger, archbiſhop of York, whom he had gained over from the party of Becket: but, though Alexander complied with this requeſt, he rendered the grant ineffectual towards the purpoſes for which it was intended; for he annexed to it a clauſe, ordaining that the legate ſo appointed ſhould not act in prejudice of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. This nugatory commiſſion was no ſooner brought to England, than the king ſent it back with great indignation.

Though Becket had ſworn to obey the conſtitutions of Clarendon, he had obſtinately refuſed to ſign his name, or to affix his ſeal, to the record which contained them, while the other prelates, and all the lay members of the council, ſtamped it with ultimate ſanction. His perverſeneſs greatly offended the king, who was ſtill more enraged when he heard of the arch-

16. Matth. Par. p. 97, 98.—Stephan. Vit. Beck.

biſhop's

biſhop's having diſclaimed the oath which he had taken in the aſſembly. He was now convinced, that it would be an impracticable taſk to ſubdue the inflexibility of Becket, againſt whom he was therefore animated with a warmth of reſentment, which, in the ſequel, hurried him into meaſures that his cooler judgment muſt have condemned. A. D. 1164.

Conſcious of having roufed the indignation of his ſovereign, the effects of which he might ſoon feel, Becket formed the intention of retiring to the continent, where, he flattered himſelf, he might promote his own cauſe with more ſucceſs, by exciting the clamors of Europe againſt a king who, by his arbitrary conduct, had occaſioned the exile of ſo illuſtrious a prelate. Having ſent an agent to the court of France, to ſolicit a favorable reception in that kingdom, he privately embarked at Romney; but the captain, affirming that the wind was contrary, brought back the veſſel into port, from an apprehenſion, perhaps, of being puniſhed, if he ſhould carry a prelate out of the realm without the king's licence. Thus diſappointed, Becket returned to Canterbury, before the royal officers, who had been diſpatched, on the news of his flight, to ſeiſe his temporalities, had arrived to execute their commiſſion. He ſoon after viſited the king at Woodſtock, who, though the archbiſhop had violated one of the conſtitutions of Clarendon, by attempting to quit the kingdom without his conſent, treated him with exterior mildneſs and civility, and aſked him, with an air of jocularity, whether his wiſh to leave England aroſe from an idea that it was too ſmall to contain them both [17]?

In the progreſs of the conteſt between the king and Becket, John, mareſchal of the exchequer, was in-

17. Hiſt. Quadripart. lib. i.

A D. 1164. fluenced by Henry to ſue the primate for ſome lands to which he claimed a right of inheritance; and, not meeting with ſucceſs in the archiepiſcopal court, he appealed to the king for juſtice, in conformity with one of the ſtatutes of Clarendon. In conſequence of this appeal, Becket was ſummoned to the king's court; but, on the day fixed for his appearance, he ſent a letter by ſome of his knights, apologiſing for his abſence, as the effect of indiſpoſition, and alſo a certificate from the ſheriff of Kent, ſtating the defects of John's title to the conteſted lands, as well as the informality of his appeal, to which (as was alleged in the inſtrument) he had ſworn on a hymn-book inſtead of the Goſpels. The primate's excuſes were rejected by the court, as frivolous and ill-founded; and his meſſengers with difficulty eſcaped impriſonment, being charged with having offered falſehoods to the court [18].

Eager to take vengeance on Becket, whom he con-
Oct. ſidered as an ungrateful and contumacious rebel, Henry aſſembled a great council at Northampton, to deliberate on the offences of which he intended to accuſe the archbiſhop. Having complained of that prelate's denial of juſtice to the mareſchal, and of his contempt of the royal authority in not obeying the late citation on the appeal, he called on him to anſwer for his conduct. The primate aſſerted the injuſtice of John's claim, and vindicated himſelf from the charge of contempt or diſloyalty. But his defence was not admitted; and the king ſwearing that he would have juſtice of him, the council, by the mouth of the biſhop of Winchester, who was commanded by the king to deliver the ſentence, unanimouſly condemned him to a forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, for his diſobedience to the lawful ſummons of his liege lord. Henry conſenting

18. Stephan. Vit. Beck.

to

to accept 500 pounds of him in lieu of the confiſcation, all the prelates, with the exception of Gilbert, biſhop of London, who was no friend to his metropolitan, offered themſelves as reſponſible for his payment of the fine [19]. A. D. 1164.

The king now proceeded to the adduction of other charges againſt the archbiſhop. On the next day of the ſeſſion, he demanded of Becket the ſum of 300 pounds, which he had levied on the caſtles of Eye and Berkhamſted, while they were under his adminiſtration. The primate replied, that he had expended more than that ſum in the reparation of thoſe fortreſſes, and of the Tower of London. But Henry diſallowing this defence, and demanding judgment, Becket gave ſecurity for the reimburſement of the money. The next charge advanced by the king was, that he had lent Becket, before his promotion to the ſee of Canterbury, 500 marks, of which he now inſiſted on the repayment, as well as of another ſum of the ſame value, which he had borrowed, on Henry's ſecurity, from a Jew of Toulouſe. Theſe claims, for the liquidation of which, notwithſtanding every plea that he could allege, the primate was compelled to find bail, were followed by a requiſition that he ſhould give an account, without delay, of all the ſums which he had received from the vacant ſees and other preferments, which he had had in his cuſtody during his chancellorſhip [20].

There is good ground for ſuppoſing, from the extraordinary magnificence in which Becket lived while he occupied the poſt of chancellor, when his expences far exceeded the income even of his numerous preferments, that he applied to his own uſe no ſmall part of the revenues which he received in the name of his ſo-

19. Stephan. Vit. Beck.—Hoved. p. 283.

20. Hiſt. Quadripart. lib. i.—Dicet. col. 537.—Hoved. Ann.

A. D. 1164. vereign; and it is an insufficient excuse to say, that the pomp and luxury of his life, and the liberality of his manners, contributed to promote the honor and the service of his master, whose character must have derived a considerable lustre from the unparalleled splendor in which his minister lived, particularly when he was employed in foreign negotiations or expeditions. Henry was justified in calling his servant to account for the balance of royal revenue which he had not paid into the exchequer; but it was incumbent on him to have made such a demand at an earlier period, and not have suffered above two years to elapse without his giving a single hint of any intention of arraigning the pecuniary integrity of the chancellor. Hence it may be concluded, that the present charge was suggested by the impulse of resentment, and by a desire of punishing Becket for his obstinacy in the defence of ecclesiastical immunities.

In answer to this demand of balance, which the king estimated at 30,000 pounds, the primate observed, that, at the time of his election to his see, Richard de Lucy, the royal justiciary, and all the barons of the exchequer, in presence of the prince-royal, had declared him free and discharged from all the bonds of the court; that, consequently, no charge respecting the accounts of a civil office, enjoyed by him before his establishment in the archiepiscopate, could now be lawfully adduced; and that, even if he were liable, after this discharge, to be called to an account, a reasonable time ought to be allowed him for preparing his answer. Having requested and obtained permission to consult with the bishops on this head, he retired with them into an inner apartment. The bishop of Winchester advised him to make the king an offer of 2000 marks, by way of composition for all demands; but this sum

was

was refuſed by Henry. Some of the prelates recommended to him a reſignation of his ſee, as the moſt likely expedient to avert a ruinous proſecution. This counſel was oppoſed by others, as tending to the ſubverſion of the liberties of the prieſthood, by encouraging a prince to try the effect of arbitrary menaces and unjuſt accuſations, whenever he wiſhed the removal of any obnoxious dignitary of the church. After ſome conſultation, the archbiſhop ſolicited the earls of Cornwall and Leiceſter to uſe their influence with the king, that he would not inſiſt on the immediate production of ſureties, but would grant him a reſpite till the ſucceeding day of the ſeſſion; a favor which was not denied him [21]. A. D. 1164.

Apprehending that the royal reſentment would ſoon accompliſh the ruin of the primate, moſt of the knights and gentlemen who had attended him to the council, now no longer appeared in his train. He therefore gave orders to his ſervants to aſſemble all the poor in the vicinity of Northampton, that they might partake of the hoſpitality of his table. Sitting at dinner with theſe gueſts, he remarked, that, with ſuch an army, he ſhould obtain an eaſier victory, than with thoſe who had ſhamefully deſerted him in the hour of danger.

At the next meeting, the archbiſhop did not make his appearance. Being viſited from the king by the earls of Leiceſter and Cornwall, he aſſured them that he was extremely indiſpoſed, and deſired the reſpite of another day. When the following morning arrived, he was exhorted by many of the biſhops to ſubmit without reſerve to the royal will; but he ſharply reproved them for ſuch counſel, charged them not to be preſent at any further proceedings to his prejudice,

21. Stephan. Vit. Beck.—Chron. Gervaſ.—Hoved. Ann.

com-

A. D. 1164.

commanded them to fulminate the cenſures of the church againſt all who ſhould preſume to offer violence to him, and declared, that, though the world ſhould rage againſt him with all poſſible fury, and his body ſhould be ſentenced to the flames, he would not abandon the rights of his order, nor deſert the intereſts of his flock[22]. The ſame morning, at the celebration of maſs, he introduced an alluſion to his own ſituation, in theſe words of ſcripture, "Princes ſat and ſpake "againſt me." He then proceeded to the council; and, taking his croſs from the hands of the official bearer, carried it aloft with every outward indication of pontifical pride. The biſhop of London reprehended him with great aſperity, for coming thus armed into the court of his ſovereign, as if his aim was to inſult and defy him, or to menace him with eccleſiaſtical thunders. This reproof was followed by an attempt to wreſt the croſs from the hands of Becket; but the perſonal ſtrength of the metropolitan rendered fruitleſs the efforts of the ſuffragan. The archbiſhop of York then intimated to him, that the ſword of the king was more powerful than that croſs on which he ſeemed ſo much to depend. Becket's anſwer to this obſervation was ſuitable to the prieſtly character: he replied, that the king's weapon could indeed deſtroy the body, but that *his* inſtrument gave a ſpiritual wound, and could ſend the ſoul into regions of eternal puniſhment[23].

While the primate continued in the hall, the king was in an interior room, whence he ſent a herald to ſummon the members of the council into his preſence. He then complained of the inſolence of Becket, and of the odium which he manifeſtly ſtrove to excite againſt his prince and the court, by appearing in ſuch an unprecedented manner, as if he ſuſpected the aſſembly of

22. Stephan. Vit. Beck. 23. Hoved. p. 283.

ſome

ſome ſiniſter deſign. The temporal barons concurred in condemning the conduct of the archbiſhop, who, they ſaid, had committed acts of perjury and treaſon, and therefore merited the ſignal chaſtiſement of the law. Some of the nobles were now ſent to him to require his anſwer with regard to the balance for which he had not accounted; but to this he refuſed to plead, and declared his reſolution of appealing to the pope againſt the ſentence of the king's court. Henry demanding judgment, the ſpiritual barons, dreading the cenſures of the papal court if they ſhould continue to ſit in judgment on their primate after he had prohibited them from joining in the proceedings againſt him, and had appealed for juſtice to the ſovereign pontiff, ſolicited the king to excuſe them from concurring in the ſentence which might be paſſed on him. This requeſt being granted, the laymen of the aſſembly, with one accord, pronounced Becket guilty of perjury and treaſon; while the majority of the biſhops, with the conſent of the king, accuſed him of a perjured oppoſition to the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and cited him before the pope to anſwer for that offence [24]. A. D. 1164.

The earl of Leiceſter, who was one of the chief juſticiaries, came to Becket from the inner room, and deſired him to liſten to his ſentence. "My ſentence!" exclaimed the archbiſhop; "I decline the judgment of "this tribunal, as I am ſolely amenable, under God, to "the juriſdiction of our lord the pope, to whom I now "make my appeal from the ſentence of thoſe profane "children who have preſumed to judge their ſpiritual "father." While the earl and his companions were returning to the king with Becket's final anſwer, the archbiſhop retired from the hall, bearing his croſs for his protection; and, though the ſentence included an

24. Herib. Vit. Beck.—Stephan. Vit. Beck.

order

A. D. 1164. order for his immediate impriſonment, no one ventured to obſtruct his retreat. As he paſſed along, he received abuſive language from ſome of the barons, which he returned with the moſt intemperate reproaches. Finding the exterior gate of the caſtle locked, he was apprehenſive of being ſeiſed by the royal officers; but one of his ſervants, perceiving the keys hanging near the gate, opened it without delay, and gave egreſs to the primate, who was attended to a convent in the town by an applauding multitude[25].

Immediately after Becket's departure from the hall, the king iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting all perſons from offering the ſmalleſt violence to the archbiſhop or any of his attendants. Not long after, he received a meſſage from Becket, entreating his permiſſion to quit the kingdom; to which he replied, that, on the following day, he would deliberate with his council on the propriety of acceding to the requeſt. Without waiting, however, for the royal licence, the primate reſolved to leave Northampton that night, and travel in diſguiſe to a maritime town. Accompanied by two monks, and one ſervant, he commenced his journey

25. Hiſt. Quadripart. lib. i. cap. 34. — Hoved. p. 283. — Chron. Gervaſ.—Mr. Hume obſerves, that "the king would probably have "puſhed the affair to the utmoſt extremity againſt him (the archbiſhop); but Becket gave him no leiſure to conduct the proſecution." This, however, is an erroneous ſtatement of the caſe. If Henry had been inclined to proceed to extremities againſt the primate, he might eaſily have oppoſed his retreat from the caſtle of Northampton, and have taken him into cuſtody for his appeal to the pope, without regard to the other grounds of accuſation; but he manifeſtly connived at Becket's evaſion of juſtice, and appears to have been rather deſirous of intimidating him into ſubmiſſion, than of wreaking revenge on his perſon, or effectuating (as Mr. H. affirms in another paſſage) his "total ruin."—The archbiſhop gave him ſufficient leiſure to prevent his eſcape from the hands of juſtice, if he had been willing to iſſue orders for his ſeiſure.

about midnight; and turning first to the northward, that he might the better escape pursuit, he proceeded to Lincoln. From that city he journeyed for several successive nights, constantly concealing himself all day in some monastery, till he reached the port of Sandwich, where he embarked with great privacy, before day-break, and was conveyed in safety to the coast of Flanders [26]. A. D. 1164.

The king was greatly displeased at the flight of Becket to the continent, where he dreaded the effect of his intrigues with the pope and the French monarch. To conciliate the indulgence of Alexander, and obviate the unfavorable impressions which the agents of the primate might make on the superstitious mind of Lewis, he dispatched the archbishop of York and four other prelates, four temporal peers, and three of his chaplains, to the papal court, (which, on account of a schism, was kept at Sens), as well as to that of the sovereign of France. These envoys, after a short abode in the territories of Philip earl of Flanders, to whom they presented a letter from the king of England, requesting him not to afford protection to the disloyal fugitive, prosecuted their journey into the French dominions, where they met with a very cold reception from Lewis, who condemned the behaviour of their master towards so faithful a servant as Becket had proved himself. This prince was rejoiced at the opportunity of disturbing, by the medium of a turbulent prelate, the government of Henry, whom he had long regarded with eyes of malevolent jealousy. On the day that followed the departure of the English ambassadors, he received, with great cordiality, two ecclesiastics whom Becket had sent to implore his favor for a persecuted exile; assured them of his gracious intentions towards the

26. Hoved. p. 284.—Hist. Quadripart.

archbishop;

A. D. 1164. archbiſhop; and, to evince his ſincerity, ordered his almoner to repair immediately to the court of Sens, to ſignify his requeſt to the pope, that, as he loved the honor of the Romiſh church, and was well affected to the kingdom of France, he would ſupport the cauſe of Becket againſt the reſentment of the Engliſh tyrant [27].

On the arrival of Henry's ambaſſadors at Sens, a conſiſtory was called by Alexander, in which he gave them audience. They communicated the deſire of their ſovereign, that his holineſs would command the archbiſhop to return to his own country, and ſend two legates into England, who ſhould decide the cauſe without appeal. The pontiff did not object to the nomination of legates for that purpoſe; but ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the privilege of appealing from thoſe commiſſioners to their principal. In conſequence of this diſagreement with reſpect to the powers to be veſted in the legates, as well as of the abſence of Becket himſelf, no definitive anſwer was given by Alexander, who, elate with the friendſhip of the king of France, diſregarded the threats of the envoys, that their maſter would join the party of the anti-pope [28].

Becket, arriving at Soiſſons, was gratified with a viſit from Lewis, who careſſed him in the moſt friendly manner, and promiſed to allow him a liberal penſion. The primate then proceeded to Sens, where the pope received him with ſuch honors as were due to an intrepid champion of the church. To vindicate his conduct in what he deemed the moſt effectual manner, he produced, before the pontiff and his cardinals, a copy of the conſtitutions of Clarendon; which being read aloud, the aſſembly annulled ten out of the ſixteen,

27. Hoved. p. 284.—Chron. Gervaſ.
28. Hiſt. Quadripart. lib. ii.—Matth. Par.

and

and anathematiſed all who ſhould obey, enforce, or abet them. On the ſucceeding day, he reſigned his ſee into the hands of the pope, alleging that he had been obtruded into it by the royal mandate; and his holineſs, as he expected, reſtored it to him with as much ceremony as if an undoubted right to diſpoſe of it had really belonged to the biſhop of Rome. Becket was then recommended by his papal friend to the abbot of Pontigni in Burgundy, who readily admitted him into his convent, where he enjoyed a handſome maintenance, derived from the revenues of the foundation, and from the bounty of Lewis the Younger [29]. A. D. 1164.

The report made to Henry by his ambaſſadors, filled him with rage and reſentment. He ſeiſed the eſtates of the ſee of Canterbury, and even deſpoiled of their poſſeſſions all the clergy who adhered to the cauſe of Becket. He gave orders that St. Peter's pence ſhould not be tranſmitted to the pope; that every perſon who ſhould appeal to the juriſdiction of that pontiff ſhould be taken into cuſtody; that whoever ſhould bring over any mandates from the pope or the fugitive archbiſhop, ſhould be proſecuted with great ſeverity; that all who ſhould pay regard to any letters of interdict iſſued by either of thoſe prieſts, ſhould be baniſhed; and that no clergyman ſhould leave the realm, or return to it, without a licence from the king or one of his principal juſticiaries. In addition to theſe ordinances, which were authoriſed by the conſtitutional independence of his kingdom, he promulgated an edict incompatible with juſtice, and repugnant to the general humanity of his diſpoſition. He commanded that all the relatives as well as domeſtics of Becket, amounting (it is ſaid) to about four hundred perſons, infants and adults, male and female, ſhould be deprived of their property, and A. D. 1165.

29. Hiſt. Quadr.—Hoved.

driven

A. D. 1165. driven from his dominions, after having bound themſelves, by oath, to join the archbiſhop without delay. Henry's view, in annexing this circumſtance to his edict, was doubtleſs to augment the primate's uneaſineſs, not only by the ſight of ſo many innocent individuals who had ſuffered on his account, but alſo by the burthen of their maintenance. His purpoſe, however, was not anſwered; for theſe exiles, being abſolved from their oath by a papal diſpenſation, were relieved by the liberality of Lewis, and of the nobles and clergy of France and Flanders; and many of them were admitted into the religious houſes[30].

By the deſire of the empreſs Matilda, her ſon now repaired to the continent, and had an interview with the king of France at Giſors; but he could not prevail on Lewis to withdraw his protection from Becket. A conference was then propoſed between Henry and Alexander, to which the former agreed, under a proviſo that the archbiſhop ſhould not be preſent; while the pope, on the other hand, refuſed to meet the Engliſh monarch without the attendance of that prelate. Each perſiſting in his demand, a meeting did not take place between them; and if it had, it would probably have been fruitleſs.

Haſtening his return to England, the king prepared for a military expedition. The Welſh, preſuming on the diſſenſions between Henry and his clergy, had taken the opportunity of forming a grand confederacy for ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke, which they conſidered as highly diſgraceful to their national honor. To counteract their attempts, the king brought over an army from the continent, which being augmented with Engliſh levies, he marched into North-Wales, where

30. Stephan. Vit. Beck. p. 52.—Hiſt. Quadr. lib. ii.—Matth. Par. p. 99.

he

he loſt a conſiderable number of men, and gained no advantages of importance. The violence of autumnal rains, and a ſcarcity of proviſions, at length induced him to retire, without ſucceeding in his deſign of chaſtiſing the Welſh for their revolt, and the devaſtations which they had lately committed in the Engliſh ſettlements to the weſtward of the Severn. To evince, however, his reſentment of their infidelity to their engagements, he cruelly put out the eyes, or cut off the ears and noſes, of the children of the Welſh princes and nobles, who had been formerly delivered to him as hoſtages [31]. A. D. 1165.

To the inſurrection of the Welſh ſucceeded a revolt of ſome of the barons of Maine, who refuſed obedience to the authority of Henry's queen Eleanor, whom he had intruſted with the regency of that province, as well as of Anjou and Aquitaine. Several Breton noblemen having encouraged the factious ſpirit of Henry's ſubjects in Maine, it became neceſſary to check their intrigues by vigorous operations. Having entered Maine with an army, he intimidated the rebellious nobles by his preſence, and compelled them to ſurrender their fortreſſes. The duke of Bretagne having long been haraſſed by the ſeditious conduct of his barons, had formed the intention of reſigning thoſe dominions which he found himſelf incapable of governing. He had already contracted his only child, named Conſtance, to Henry's fourth ſon Geoffrey; and he now granted to the king of England, as truſtee for his ſon, the whole duchy of Bretagne, except the county of Guingamp, which he reſerved for his own maintenance. To render this grant effectual, by a diſcomfiture of the revolted Bretons, Henry advanced to Fougeres, a caſtle which belonged to the moſt formidable A. D. 1166.

31. Hoved. p. 286.—Bromp. Chron.—Annal. de Marg.

A. D. 1166. of the rebels; took it by a gallant aſſault; and reduced it to a ſtate of ruin. This blow terrified the diſaffected nobility into ſubmiſſion; and the conqueror, taking poſſeſſion of the duchy in the name of Geoffrey and Conſtance, received the homage of the principal inhabitants. By his judicious regulations, he reſtored peace and order to a country which, for many years, had been a ſcene of ariſtocratical turbulence and oppreſſion [32].

While Henry was thus employed in the gratification of his luſt of power and dominion, a ſtorm impended over him from the retreats of Pontigni. The archiepiſcopal exile, ſecure in the confidence of the pope, who had annulled the ſentence paſſed againſt him for a contempt of the king's court on the appeal of John the mareſchal, and animated by the protection of the French king, who profeſſed a warm attachment to his intereſts, prepared to denounce the terrors of the church againſt his moſt active opponents. His impatience, however, was not perfectly agreeable to the pontiff, who, being more cautious and prudent than Becket, wiſhed him to poſtpone eccleſiaſtical cenſures, from an apprehenſion of the accompliſhment of Henry's threats of forming a cloſe alliance with the emperor, Frederic Barbaroſſa, and acknowledging the antipope, whom that prince ſtrenuouſly ſupported againſt Alexander. Before he iſſued any ſentence of excommunication, the archbiſhop wrote ſome letters to his ſovereign and other diſtinguiſhed perſons, in which he elevated the church above the civil power, repreſented kings as deriving their authority from the prieſthood, advanced a variety of arguments in defence of the extravagant claims of papal domination, and compared his perſecutions to thoſe which Chriſt had endured,

32. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.—Chron. Norm. p. 1000.

who,

who, he said, underwent another crucifixion in the present sufferings of the church [33]. Finding his letters to Henry ineffectual for procuring his restoration on his own terms, he resolved to excommunicate that monarch and his chief ministers without any other delay than was necessary to implore the aid of the Virgin Mary, Gregory the Great, and St. Dransius. Repairing from Pontigni to Soissons, he watched three nights at the shrines of those saints; and, at Vezelai, pronounced the formidable sentence of excommunication against those whom he regarded as his enemies, or as the confidential friends of Henry. But, for the present, he excepted that monarch from the censure, in consideration of an illness with which he heard he had been seised. The persons particularly involved in the stigma, by name, were, John of Oxford, who had acted as president in the council of Clarendon; Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poictiers; Richard de Lucy, the royal justiciary; Joceline de Baliol, and three other barons. All the abettors and observers of the constitutions of Clarendon were included in the sentence; and, to those who had sworn to regard them, a dispensation of their oath was granted [34]. A. D. 1166.

Though the archbishop commanded all his suffragans to enforce the observance of this edict, little attention was paid to it either by the clergy or laity. The king, expecting, from the menaces of Becket, to be himself a speedy participator of these censures, and to have his realm subjected to an interdict, injudiciously appealed to the pope from the violent proceedings of his own primate. At the same time, he took other measures that were better calculated to guard against the spiri-

33. Epist. S. Thom. lib. i. 34. Hoved. p. 286.—Epist. S. Thom.—Matth. Par.

A. D. 1166. tual ſhock which he dreaded. He ſent over ſtrict orders from the continent, that all the ports of England ſhould be watched; that, if any clergyman ſhould be detected as the bearer of letters of interdict, he ſhould be puniſhed with mutilation; that a layman who ſhould be guilty of that offence, ſhould be put to death; and that, if ſuch letters ſhould make their way into the kingdom, all prieſts who, out of regard to their contents, ſhould abſtain from the performance of divine ſervice, ſhould be emaſculated [35].

Exaſperated at the ſeditious arrogance of Becket, Henry reſolved to deprive him of the protection which he enjoyed at Pontigni. He ſent a peremptory meſſage to the abbot, importing that if he ſhould continue to harbour the refractory prelate, he would expel from his dominions all the Ciſtertian monks; an order to which that monaſtery belonged. The archbiſhop, thus aſſailed in his retreat, quitted it after a reſidence of near two years; but the inconvenience of his removal from this abode was immediately compenſated by the favor of the French king, who gave him an aſylum in a convent near Sens [36].

By the addreſs of his envoys, operating on the fears of Alexander, who was ſtill haraſſed by a ſchiſm, Henry, in ſome meaſure, brought over that pontiff to his ſide, or, at leaſt, diminiſhed his zeal in the cauſe of Becket. Though this prelate procured from his holineſs a confirmation of the late cenſures againſt the king's miniſters, and obtained alſo the commiſſion of papal legate over all England except the province of the archbiſhop of York (who, being inveſted with the ſame character for Scotland, could not be ſubjected to the power of any other legate), the influence of the

35. Hiſt. Quadr.—Epiſt. Beck. lib. i.
36. Chron. Gervaſ.—Hoved. Ann.

king

king prevailed on the pope to ſuſpend the legatine authority of Becket, and appoint two cardinals to judge definitively in all controverſies between Henry and the primate, as well as between the latter and the biſhops who had appealed againſt him. Of the two eccleſiaſtics nominated for this buſineſs, one was an avowed friend of the king, and the other, though a partiſan of Becket, was ſtrongly ſuſpected of a proneneſs to corruption. But before any favorable event accrued to Henry from the wavering inclinations of Alexander, a rupture enſued between that prince and the king of France. The count of Auvergne, a vaſſal of the duke of Aquitaine, being engaged in a diſpute with his lord, had recourſe to the deciſion of Lewis, who, as paramount of Aquitaine, readily took the cauſe into his own hands, though Henry, as the meſne lord of the county of Auvergne, had a right to try it in the firſt inſtance, an appeal lying to the French monarch as the ſupreme lord. Diſpleaſed at the count's application, Henry entered Auvergne in an hoſtile manner, and committed ſome devaſtations; of which Lewis had no ſooner been informed, than he made an incurſion into the Vexin Normand. Drawn from Auvergne by this invaſion, Henry, after a fruitleſs conference with Lewis, retaliated on the Vexin François the conflagrations with which the French had marked their progreſs. This petty war quickly ended in a truce, to which Henry gladly agreed, as he had received advice of an inſurrection in Bretagne. Having marched into that duchy with his uſual celerity, he ſoon reduced the revolters to ſubmiſſion. While he was thus engaged, he ſuſtained a domeſtic loſs which gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. His mother the empreſs, who, ſince the dereliction of her pretenſions to royalty, had proved a faithful ſubject and an uſeful counſellor to her ſon, and had diſplayed

A. D. 1166.

A. D. 1167.

A. D. 1167. a degree of moderation which could hardly have been expected from her former conduct, reſigned her breath Sept. 10. in the capital of Normandy; a province over which ſhe had generally acted as regent in the abſence of Henry. She had lately, at the requeſt of the pope, offered herſelf as a mediatrix between Henry and Becket; but her endeavours to reconcile them were interrupted by the ſtroke of death. Her ſon, with great punctuality, executed her will, by which ſhe bequeathed large ſums to the church and to the poor, to whom, during her life, ſhe had been a munificent diſtributor of the favors of fortune.

During the late hoſtilities between Lewis and Henry, Matthew, earl of Boulogne, the ſon-in-law of king Stephen, on the rejection of a claim which he advanced to the earldom of Mortagne, reſolved to revenge his diſappointment by an invaſion of England, in which his brother, the earl of Flanders, engaged to become a party. The two earls equipped a numerous fleet for the proſecution of that deſign; but the precautions taken by Richard de Luci, the juſticiary, for the defence of the coaſts, diſcouraged them from attempting a deſcent; and the earl of Boulogne concluded a ſubſidiary treaty with the king of England, in which the latter ſtipulated to allow him an annuity of 1000 pounds for the relinquiſhment of his claim, and the occaſional ſervice that might be performed by himſelf and his vaſſals [37].

While the truce ſubſiſted between the kings of France and England, many of the barons of Guienne and Poictou were encouraged by the former to enter into a rebellion againſt Henry, to which their turbulent ſpirit, and their averſion to the ſtrictneſs of juſtice exerciſed by that prince, ſufficiently inclined them [38]. They commenced their campaign, according

37. Chron. Gervaſ.—Epiſt. S. Thom. lib. i. 38. Chron. Triveti et Gervaſ.—Chron. Norm.

to

to the cuſtom of thoſe times, with ravage and depredation; but their ſucceſs was very tranſient; for the arms of Henry ſpeedily reduced Luſignan, the principal fortreſs of the inſurgents, and extorted from them a promiſe of returning to their allegiance, provided Lewis, to whom they had given hoſtages for their not ſubmitting to his rival without his conſent, could be prevailed on to reſtore thoſe pledges. Deſirous of removing this obſtacle, Henry, after ſtrengthening his garriſons in that part of his territories, left the adminiſtration of the whole duchy of Aquitaine to his queen and the earl of Saliſbury, and repaired to Normandy, near the borders of which he had an interview with Lewis, whom he required to deliver up the hoſtages ſo ſurreptitiouſly obtained by him. That monarch, however, refuſed to reſtore them, though he conſented to prolong, for three months, the truce between him and Henry [39]. A. D. 1168.

As ſoon as the king of England had left Aquitaine, the earl of Saliſbury was aſſaſſinated by Guy de Luſignan and other rebels of that duchy; an outrage which his ſoldiers revenged by a devaſtation of the lands of the murderers, whoſe perſons he had not an opportunity of ſeiſing. He was now haraſſed by a commotion in Bretagne, produced by the ſecret inſtigation of the king of France, who encouraged Eudo to re-aſſert that claim which had been diſallowed by Henry when he pronounced his ſentence of arbitration in the conteſt for this duchy. Though Eudo had formed a conſiderable party among the Breton nobility, his ſtrength ſoon mouldered away on the appearance of Henry. That prince, with little difficulty, deprived Eudo of his caſtles, and then chaſtiſed his confederates; but, before he had totally quelled the inſurrection, he was

39. Chron. Norm.

A. D. 1168. called away by the approach of the time fixed for a conference between him and Lewis, on the ſubject of a pacification. The enmity of the French monarch, however, prevented a peace from being concluded; and the war was renewed ſoon after Midſummer: but, as it was one of thoſe trivial wars which were ſo frequent in that age, the particulars of it would neither intereſt nor amuſe. Theſe hoſtilities were terminated

A. D. 1169. by a treaty, in the beginning of the ſucceeding year. The articles purported, that the king of England ſhould reſign the counties of Anjou and Maine to his ſon Henry, and the duchy of Aquitaine to his next ſon Richard; and that the hoſtages given to Lewis by the revolted ſubjects of Henry ſhould be delivered up to that king, who ſtipulated that he would pardon their treaſon, and reſtore their eſtates. After the concluſion of the peace, prince Henry did homage to the French king for the provinces aſſigned to him; and Richard performed the ſame ſubmiſſions for Aquitaine [40].

Lewis had long been extremely deſirous of diſmembering the continental dominions of Henry; and, by this convention, he in ſome meaſure gained his point; for, though the Engliſh monarch appears to have had no real intention of reſigning the territories ſpecified in the treaty, till his ſons had attained to a full age, Lewis was gratified with the thoughts of having ſecured the future *diviſion* of thoſe valuable provinces, which, when united under one prince, threatened danger to the kingdom of France.

At Mont-mirail, the ſcene of the late pacification, archbiſhop Becket was preſent. The two cardinals oſtenſibly commiſſioned to decide the controverſy between him and his ſovereign, though they had been

40. Epiſt. Johann. Sariſb. 268.—Chron. Norm. p. 1002.—Epiſt. S. Thomæ, lib. ii.

precluded,

precluded, by the duplicity of the pope, from acting as judges in the buſineſs, had procured ſome advantage to Henry by prohibiting the vindictive primate from iſſuing any eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt the king or the realm of England, during the ſubſiſtence of an appeal which the biſhops had renewed againſt him to his holineſs. A mandate had been afterwards received from Alexander, ſuſpending Becket's ſpiritual authority over Henry and his ſubjects, till that prelate ſhould have recovered the royal favor. But, notwithſtanding this grant, the pontiff, who ſeems to have been of a very indeciſive temper, had been ſo far influenced by the expoſtulations of the archbiſhop, as to promiſe that he would allow him, by a certain time, a full power of ſubjecting England to an interdict, and of excommunicating the king himſelf, with as many of his ſubjects as he wiſhed to make the objects of his cenſures, if Henry ſhould refuſe to reſtore him to his ſee, and his friends to their preferments and eſtates. After various conferences between the agents of both parties, Becket at length preſented himſelf before his offended ſovereign at the congreſs of Mont-mirail; and, being preſſed by his chief partiſans to ſeek a reconciliation with Henry by an humble and reſpectful demeanor, he approached that monarch with an appearance of ſubmiſſion, and kneeling before him, ſaid, "I throw myſelf on the mercy of God and the king, "and on the honor of God and the king." Henry, ſuſpecting that the caſuiſtry of the primate would explain theſe words to himſelf in ſuch a manner as to admit the utmoſt latitude of clerical immunities, rejected the evaſive declaration, and required a profeſſion of obedience couched in more abſolute terms. He wiſhed the archbiſhop to promiſe, without fraud or fallacy, that he would obey all the laws and cuſtoms which A.D. 1169.

A. D. 1169. which his moſt pious and reſpectable predeceſſors in the ſee of Canterbury had obſerved in the reigns of former kings of England, and to which he himſelf had ſworn to adhere. Becket replied, that, though no preceding archbiſhop of Canterbury had bound himſelf by ſuch a promiſe, he was willing to acquieſce in it, with a reſervation of the honor of God and the rights of his order. As he perſiſted in this qualification of his allegiance, which had before been ſo obnoxious to his prince, the interview produced no effect [41]; his obſtinacy not only increaſing the reſentment of Henry, but exciting the temporary diſguſt even of the bigoted Lewis.

On the expiration of the period aſſigned by the pope for the renewal of Becket's ſpiritual authority, he denounced excommunication againſt the earl of Cheſter, the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, the archdeacon of Canterbury, and other perſons who enjoyed the confidence of Henry. The biſhop of London proteſted againſt the ſentence, as Becket had illegally united the characters of accuſer, witneſs, and judge; and the king declared himſelf to be as much offended at the cenſures inflicted on his friends, as if the primate had "diſcharged his venom upon his own perſon." He complained to Alexander, with great indignation, of the unwarrantable proceedings of the archbiſhop, and entreated the pontiff to annul the edicts of that preſumptuous prelate. By the medium of his envoys, he offered his holineſs the ſum of 10,000 marks, if he would conſent to the complete removal of Becket from the ſee of Canterbury. More diſintereſted than many of the vicars of St. Peter, Alexander rejected this ſplendid bribe; and granted no other favor to Henry than the diſmiſſion of two nuncios into Normandy,

41. Epiſt. S. Thom.

for the purpoſe of negotiating a reconciliation between him and the primate [42]. A.D. 1169.

While this conteſt remained undecided, and the terrors of excommunication hung over his head, Henry made a campaign againſt his unſubmitting ſubjects beyond the Loire; and having reduced them to dependence, he returned into the Norman duchy, where he was viſited by the two nuncios, with whom he had long and animated conferences. He procured from them the abſolution of three of his attendants, who had been involved in the late ſpiritual ſentence; but their mediation could not extort the reſtoration of his favor to Becket, on the terms which that prelate deſired. An interview between Henry and Lewis was equally ineffectual for cloſing the breach; and the former found it expedient to renew, with additional ſeverity, the injunctions which he had publiſhed ſome years before, prohibiting all appeals to the pope or the archbiſhop, and the publication of letters of interdict. Moſt of the laity throughout the kingdom ſwore to the obſervance of the royal edict, but few of the clergy could be prevailed on to take an oath ſo repugnant to the ſupremacy claimed by the Romiſh pontiff [43].

The affectionate regard which Henry bore to his offſpring, and a reflexion on the uſurpations ſo frequent in theſe times of turbulent ambition, prompted him to aim at ſecuring the ſucceſſion of his heir apparent, by a precaution which, he flattered himſelf, would preclude the efforts of competition. He reſolved to procure the immediate unction and coronation of that young prince; ceremonies which he knew to be of great weight in a devout age, and which would ſtamp

42. Epiſt. S. Thom. lib. iii. —Epiſt. S. Thom.

43. Chron. Gervaſ. col. 1409.

a ſtronger

A. D. 1169. a ſtronger ſanction than that of mere oaths in favor of the heir of the crown. This was a deſign which he had long formed, though he had delayed the execution of it till the preſent time, when he daily expected the excommunication of his own perſon, and might therefore ſuppoſe that the coronation of his ſon would preſerve to his family that allegiance and loyalty which his ſuperſtitious ſubjects might be inclined to withdraw from him, when he ſhould be excluded from the communion of the church, and conſigned by a furious prieſt to utter reprobation.

A. D. 1170. After a ſecond abſence of about four years from England, the king now returned thither, for the accompliſhment of his intentions in favor of his ſon Henry, and the reformation of abuſes which had crept into the interior government of the kingdom. Having landed in ſafety at Portſmouth, after a violent ſtorm, which diſperſed and ſhattered his fleet, and occaſioned the deſtruction of 400 of his ſubjects, he repaired to Windſor, where he held a great council for redreſſing the grievances of the nation. Commiſſioners were appointed by this aſſembly to inquire into the conduct of all the magiſtrates and officers of the crown throughout the realm; and, on the report of theſe inquiſitors, moſt of the ſheriffs were deprived of their offices for the numerous acts of fraud, rapine, and oppreſſion, of which they had been guilty in their ſovereign's abſence: but, on giving proper ſecurities for their future propriety of behaviour, ſome of them were reſtored [44].

Having procured a bull from the pope, empowering the archbiſhop of York to crown his ſon, the king convoked a national council in his metropolis, in which that important point was diſcuſſed and approved. On

44. Benedict. Abb. Petriburg. *edit.* Hearne, tom. i.—Chron. Gervaſ. the

the following Sunday, the prince, who had entered into his ſixteenth year, was anointed and crowned at Weſtminſter by the prelate above-mentioned; and, on the next day, all the members of the council, among whom were William king of Scotland and his brother David, did homage and ſwore fealty to the young king, with a reſerve of the allegiance which they owed to his father [45]. A. D. 1170. June 14.

Though Henry had endeavoured to prevent this project from being communicated to Becket before it's execution, it did not eſcape the previous knowledge of that vigilant exile, who immediately applied to Alexander for a prohibition to the archbiſhop of York, and every other Engliſh prelate, from officiating or aſſiſting at the coronation of the young prince, as that office, he affirmed, excluſively belonged to the ſee of Canterbury. When he had received a bull to this purport from the fickle pontiff, he ſent it into England, accompanied with letters from himſelf to the ſpiritual peers of the realm, denouncing an anathema againſt thoſe who ſhould invade the privilege of his ſee by attempting to crown the prince. But the terror of Henry's late edicts baffled the deſigns of the archbiſhop, as no perſon would venture to produce or deliver theſe epiſtles in England. He was exceedingly enraged when he heard of the completion of the act of corona-

45. Hoved. p. 296.—Benedict. Abb.—The following anecdote is related, on this occaſion, of young Henry. The father, at the coronation-feaſt, having condeſcended to ſerve up a diſh to his new-crowned ſon, the archbiſhop of York complimented the youth on the great honor which he derived from being ſerved by ſo powerful a monarch. The haughty boy replied, that it was no extraordinary condeſcenſion for the ſon of a count to wait on the ſon of a king. This ſpeech was regarded as an inſtance of that arrogant and aſpiring diſpoſition which afterwards planted continual thorns in the breaſt of the father, who ſo injudiciouſly inflamed, by the grant of premature royalty, the ſparks of filial ambition.

A. D. 1170. tion; and he ſoon after diſpatched letters to this kingdom, ſubjecting it to an interdict after the lapſe of a fortnight: but theſe ebullitions of his fury were deprived of their effect by the vigilance of the government.

Margaret of France, the wife of young Henry, not having been crowned with her huſband, her father conſidered this omiſſion as an inſult, and prepared to reſent it by an irruption into Normandy. The king of England, eager to pacify the wrath of Lewis, paſſed over to the continent, and employed the mediation of the earl of Blois at the court of Paris. An interview took place near Frettevalle, in the province of Chartres, between the two monarchs, in which all their differences were compromiſed. This accommodation was immediately followed by a conference be-

July 22. tween Henry and Becket, on the final adjuſtment of ſuch terms as had been propoſed by the archbiſhop of Rouen and the biſhop of Nevers, who had been employed by the pope to act as mediators in this affair. The king no ſooner beheld the primate advancing, than he ſpurred his horſe to meet him, and ſaluted him with great reſpect. He then led him aſide, and gave him a long audience, during which Becket enumerated all the injuries which, he pretended, the king had done to the church, and admoniſhed him to make ſpeedy compenſation for thoſe wrongs, if he wiſhed to obtain the prize of eternal ſalvation. Henry liſtened to the remonſtrances of the archbiſhop with remarkable patience, and promiſed to make atonement for the offences imputed to him. At the end of the converſation, Becket diſmounted, and threw himſelf at the feet of his ſovereign, who inſtantly alighted, and deſiring the prelate to remount, humbled himſelf ſo far as to hold the ſtirrup for an ungrateful ſubject, whoſe pride

pride and arrogance, he muſt have known, would influence him to make an ungenerous boaſt of this triumph over his prince[46]. A. D. 1170.

Henry now declared, in the preſence of many of the French and Engliſh nobility, his reconciliation with the archbiſhop, whom, however, he would not have conſented to receive into his good graces, had he not been peremptorily informed by the pope, that, if he ſhould not reſtore the primate and his friends within forty days, a ſentence of excommunication would be iſſued againſt his perſon, and an interdict would be denounced on all his dominions. He was apprehenſive that theſe cenſures would produce the revolt of a part, if not the whole, of his continental territories, where the barons were ſo much under the influence of the king of France, their ſupreme feudal lord, were far more refractory than his Engliſh ſubjects, and were more likely, from their proximity to the centre of Romiſh ſuperſtition, to join the church againſt an excommunicated prince, and transfer their allegiance to one who had not entailed on himſelf the reſentment of the apoſtolic ſee. By theſe conſiderations he was induced to relax in his firmneſs. He therefore agreed to enforce the complete reſtoration of Becket and his baniſhed adherents to all the poſſeſſions which they had enjoyed before their exile, and to give ſatisfaction for the infringement of the rights of the ſee of Canterbury in the late coronation. He alſo promiſed to give the archbiſhop the kiſs of peace, which had occaſioned great difficulty in the courſe of the negotiation; for he had ſworn, in a moment of paſſion, that he would never give Becket that token of reconciliation, though, at the very importunate ſolicitations of that prelate, ſeconded by the deſire of the pope, who readily abſolved him

46. Epiſt. S. Thom. lib. v.

from

A. D. 1170. from the oath, he engaged to perform this ceremony as ſoon as he ſhould have returned into his own territories [47].

Soon after this ſettlement, the king was ſeiſed, in Normandy, with a violent indiſpoſition, which brought the perils of diſſolution ſo ſtrongly in his view, that he thought proper to make his will. By this inſtrument, he bequeathed to his ſon Henry the kingdom of England and the Norman duchy, with the county of Anjou, and it's dependencies; and, to Richard, the whole inheritance of his mother Eleanor. He aſſigned to Geoffrey the duchy of Bretagne, which he had governed for ſome years paſt in the name of that young prince and his wife Conſtance. To John, his youngeſt ſon, he deviſed, as ſome authors inform us, the county of Mortagne; though others aſſert, that he made no bequeſt in his favor, but merely recommended him to the liberality of his eldeſt brother.

Henry's diſorder, though tedious and ſevere, did not diſmiſs him from the regions of mortality. When he was ſufficiently recovered to bear the fatigues of traveling, he made a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of St. Mary of Roque-Madour, in Quercy. With regard to his agreement with Becket, it appears that he was ſomewhat tardy in giving the neceſſary orders for the execution of it; but he at length gave letters patent to the archbiſhop's agents, addreſſed to his ſon the new king, whom he deſired to make a full reſtitution of benefices and eſtates to Becket and his exiled partiſans. The agents met with ſome delays and obſtructions after their arrival in England; of which they complained to the primate, who having obtained, during the delay of the royal letters for his reſtoration, diſpatches from the pope, authoriſing the ſuſpenſion of the archbiſhop of

47. Epiſt. S. Thom.—Stephan. Vit. S. Thom.

York

York and the bishop of Durham, and the excommunication of the bishops of Rochester, London, and Salisbury, though the two last had been lately absolved by his holiness from their former censures, sent them over to England for the mortification of those prelates, with whom he was greatly offended for their concurrence in the coronation of the young king [48]. A. D. 1170.

After two interviews with Henry, in which there was little cordiality on either side, Becket prepared for returning to his see, though he wished to have another meeting with his sovereign, which, however, Henry declined, as he was called to the southward to resist the attempts of the king of France, who, in vindication of his right of patronage over the archbishopric of Bourges, as well as of a claim made by the earl of Blois to some lands which Henry had purchased, had advanced with an army into Berry. The hostilities which ensued between the rival monarchs were as trifling as the ostensible causes which gave rise to them; and an armistice was quickly concluded. In the mean time, Becket arrived at Whitsand, under the conduct of John of Oxford, one of his warmest opponents, whom the king had ordered to attend him into England. On his landing at Sandwich, he was met by the high sheriff of Kent, with a body of armed followers, who probably Dec. 1. intended to examine his baggage; but, at the desire of his guide, they abstained from all interruption of his progress. In his way to Canterbury, he received the congratulations of the populace; and, when he approached that city, he was welcomed by a procession of the clergy, both regular and parochial, with peals of bell-ringing, and strains of psalmody. During his continuance at Canterbury, messengers waited on him from the prelates who, by his means, had been subjected to eccle-

48. Hoved. p. 296.—Epist. S. Thom.

A. D. 1170. siastical censures, with a request that he would grant them absolution; but he had no inclination to give them so early a release from their respective sentences. Some of the officers of young Henry's court came to him soon after, to signify their master's command that he would instantly absolve the prelates, unless he wished to do a manifest injury to the king, by aiming at the subversion of the laws of the realm. He declared his readiness to comply with this mandate, if the bishops, who had been censured, would take an oath to obey the pope's will in this affair. To this condition, however, they refused to agree, as such an oath was illegal [49].

The young king could not but feel some resentment against Becket, for inflicting on those who had crowned him such treatment as clearly implied that he deemed the ceremony invalid; and the condition which the archbishop had annexed to his late promise of absolution, was so repugnant to the constitutions of Clarendon, which the independent spirit of young Henry would naturally render him as desirous of maintaining as his father could be, that it could not tend to allay the displeasure of that prince. Becket, conscious of having given offence, resolved to visit his former pupil; and, with that view, commenced a journey to the palace of Woodstock. He was attended to London, in his way to the young king's court, by a considerable train of followers; but here he was stopped by an order from Woodstock, requiring him to confine himself within the boundaries of his peculiar diocese; an order which, he declared, he would not have obeyed, if he had not otherwise intended to celebrate his Christmas at Canterbury. Thither he now returned, after dismissing the greater part of his knights and retainers; and continued quiet till the anniversary of

49. Matth. Par. p. 118.—Epist. S. Thom. lib. v.—Hoved. Ann.

the

the Nativity, though his wrath was kindled by the information which he occaſionally received of inſults offered to his partiſans, and depredations committed on the lands of his ſee. Frequent reports of this kind drew from him, it is ſaid, the following expreſſions; "that he was convinced this quarrel would not ter- "minate without bloodſhed; but that he was deter- "mined to riſque his life in defence of the liberties of "the church [50]." On Chriſtmas-day, he concluded a pathetic diſcourſe to his flock with warm invectives againſt the vices and immoralities of the age; and then pronounced a general anathema againſt the principal officers of Henry's court and houſehold, and a particular ſentence of excommunication againſt Nigel de Sackville (who had encroached on the manors of the archbiſhopric), Ralph de Broc, one of his moſt virulent enemies, and Robert de Broc, who had lately roufed his vengeance by cutting off the tail of one of his ſumpter horſes [51]. By theſe ſpiritual hoſtilities, he endeavoured to deter his ſovereign from perſiſting in his attempts for the due ſubjection of the church; and, elate with the triumph which he had gained over the king, by terrifying him into a ſubmiſſion to him and the pope, he reſolved to aſſert the ſame pontifical independence which had before embroiled him with his royal benefactor. A. D. 1170.

In the mean time, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, made a voyage to Normandy, where they complained to the king of the violent meaſures of the reſtored primate, who ſeemed to have declared open war againſt the friends and ſervants of his prince, as well as againſt the laws and cuſtoms of the realm. The arrogant conduct of Becket,

50. Stephan. Vit. S. Thom. Quadripart.

51. Hoved. p. 298.—Hiſt.

A. D. 1170. delineated in ſtrong colors by the exaſperated prelates, produced a violent agitation in the frame of Henry, who, being naturally choleric, vented his anger in the moſt unguarded expreſſions of indignation and reſentment. His ſituation, he ſaid, was extremely unhappy, in being continually expoſed to the inſolence of a fellow of the meaneſt extraction, who endeavoured to trample upon the king by whom he had been raiſed to eminence and diſtinction, to drive him and his family from the throne, and to elevate himſelf on their ruins. "How cowardly and ungrateful (continued he) are the knights and officers of my court, "in not attempting to avenge the repeated injuries "and inſults which their ſovereign has ſuſtained from "a turbulent and diſloyal eccleſiaſtic[52]!" The warm emotions of the king, and the indiſcreet words which he uttered in his fury, made a forcible impreſſion on the minds of four knights of his houſehold, who conceived that the puniſhment or removal of ſo obnoxious a prelate would not be diſpleaſing to the irritated monarch. The names of theſe reſolute men were Reginald Fitz-Urſe, Hugh de Morville, Richard Brito, and William de Traci. They concurred in a ſolemn reſolution of enforcing the implicit ſubmiſſion of the primate to the royal will, or of putting him to death if they ſhould find him inclined to continue his ſeditious career. A ſuſpicion of their intentions aroſe from ſome menacing words which they were heard to throw out; and this circumſtance reaching the king's ear, he diſpatched one of his officers with a ſtrict command that they ſhould offer no violence to the archbiſhop; but, the meſſenger had not an opportunity of communicating his orders to the knights, ſo eager were they to execute their iniquitous purpoſe[53].

52. Hiſt. Quadripart. lib. iii.—Chron. Gervaſ. col. 1414.
53. Hiſt. Quadrip.—Chron. Triv.

Fitz-

Fitz-Urſe and his three companions, embarking at different ports, ſet ſail for the Kentiſh coaſt; and their firſt rendezvous, after their arrival in England, was at Saltwode, a caſtle then occupied by Ralph de Broc, whom they acquainted with the deſign which they had formed. The enmity of this nobleman againſt Becket prompted him to become a zealous aſſiſtant in the undertaking; and, followed by an armed party, he accompanied his new gueſts to Canterbury. Moſt of the attendants being diſtributed about the city, to prevent the interpoſition of the inhabitants, the four knights repaired, with a ſmall retinue, to the archiepiſcopal palace, where, pretending orders from the king, they procured an eaſy admittance. Fitz-Urſe expoſtulated with the primate on his conduct towards the biſhops who had crowned young Henry, and, in the name of the king, commanded him to abſolve them from the cenſures which had been inflicted on them. He replied, that it was out of his power to annul the ſentences of the papal court; to which Fitz-Urſe rejoined, that, as the cenſures had originated in his advice, he was fully competent to the removal of them. Becket then expreſſed his approbation of the pope's treatment of thoſe prelates, and detailed the injuries which had been done to himſelf, and to the church, in ſuch terms as drew ſevere reproaches from Fitz-Urſe, who accuſed him of the moſt traitorous deſigns. After much altercation, during which the archbiſhop evinced his uſual obſtinacy, and profeſſed his full determination of exerting his ſpiritual authority againſt every violator of the liberties of the church, and the laws of the Romiſh ſee, the knights ordered the monks and others who attended the primate, to ſecure him on the king's behalf, that he might not eſcape from juſtice. "Eſcape! (cried he) I will not fly for fear of any man

A. D. 1170.

A.D. 1170. "living; but will endure the extremities of human "malice, and the rage of flagitious aſſaſſins."

The knights now left the palace; but, when they had put on their coats of mail, and provided themſelves with inſtruments of deſtruction, they returned with their attendants in queſt of the archbiſhop, who had, in the interim, gone to veſpers in the cathedral. Hither they purſued their prey, and ruſhing into the choir, exclaimed, "Where is that traitor?" Becket, thus accoſted by armed ruffians, turned back, and advanced towards them with an air of fearleſs compoſure, as if he aſpired to the honors of martyrdom. They renewed their demand reſpecting the prelates; but finding him inflexible, they proceeded to immediate violence, intending, according to their own ſubſequent confeſſion, to ſeiſe his perſon, and carry him to the king, or, in caſe of his ſpirited reſiſtance to that meaſure, take away his life in a place that was leſs ſacred. Clinging to one of the pillars, he exerted his ſtrength againſt the attempts of the knights, and accompanied his efforts with opprobrious language. He received, with the moſt undaunted courage, three violent blows on the head, the laſt of which threw him proſtrate on his face; and the ſtrokes being repeated with brutal fury, the unfortunate prelate expired[54]. Amidſt the confuſion of the ſcene, and the conſternation of the ſpectators, the murderers accompliſhed their eſcape into the remoter parts of England.

Dec. 29.

The character of Becket, which has been aſſailed with much obloquy, and extolled with much panegyric, will be beſt aſcertained by the unbiaſſed ſteadineſs of a middle courſe of delineation. He was, without con-

54. Chron Gervaſ.—Hiſt. Quadr.—Vit. Beck. MS. ab Ewd. Grime. —The laſt-mentioned writer, in the act of defending the archbiſhop by the interpoſition of his own arm, received a blow which almoſt cut off that limb.

troverſy,

troverſy, a man of ſtrong abilities, great diſcernment, and ſome erudition. His manners and deportment were graceful and inſinuating, though occaſionally tinctured with an air of *hauteur*. His perſonal courage, and fortitude of mind, attracted the admiration even of his enemies; but the latter of theſe qualities degenerated into the moſt inflexible obſtinacy, as ſoon as he had attained the ſtation of primate of the Engliſh church. While he held the office of chancellor, he ſhone as an able miniſter, and a loyal ſubject; as a judicious aſſertor of the rights of his ſovereign, and the independence of the realm. But, when he aſſumed the metropolitan rank, he adopted very different ſentiments, and proved a warm and perſevering advocate for all the pretenſions of the papal ſee, however repugnant to reaſon, decency, or juſtice. He entered into his new character with the zeal of an enthuſiaſt, the intrepidity of a religious hero, the artful ſpirit and the evaſive morality of an ambitious prieſt. That ſuch conduct was the ſole fruit of hypocriſy, can hardly be affirmed with truth. That ſuperſtition of which even the ſtrongeſt minds cheriſhed ſome portion in thoſe times, had perhaps ſo mingled itſelf with the conceptions of this celebrated prelate, that, in ſupporting the cauſe of the church againſt the profanations of temporal interference, he might think he was promoting the purpoſes of pure religion. Every true patriot, however, muſt condemn his efforts for placing the clergy above the reach of criminal law; an exemption which would naturally encourage, in that order of men, the commiſſion of the moſt atrocious offences; and for propagating diſcord and animoſity in the ſtate, by the erection of the church into a diſtinct body, ſubject to a foreign governor, whoſe intereſts and prejudices had long claſhed with the civil welfare of thoſe ſtates over A. D. 1170.

A. D. 1170. which he arrogated a ſpiritual juriſdiction. In the progreſs of the conteſt which he maintained with his prince, he exhibited a violence of temper, a perverſeneſs of oppoſition, and a propenſity to revenge, which his panegyriſts cannot excuſe by all the reproaches that they have laviſhed on the conduct of his royal antagoniſt. Of his private demeanor, we are authoriſed, by the concurrence of hiſtorians, to ſpeak in commendation: he was chaſte, temperate, and beneficent. But theſe virtues were obſcured and loſt in the miſchievous tendency of his public proceedings [55].

The maſſacre of this prelate, though it ſtamps infamy on the memory of the perpetrators, was attended with ſome benefit to the kingdom, as it prevented thoſe diſorders which would have reſulted from a renewal of the conteſt between the crown and the mitre; for it appears that Henry, though he had ſuffered the archbiſhop to gain ſome advantage over him, was ſtill bent on the enforcement of the conſtitutions of Clarendon, which Becket, on the other hand, was fully determined to oppoſe with all the efficacy of ſpiritual artillery. In addition to thoſe articles which formed the baſis of the

55. An ingenious catholic has lately appeared as a vindicator of archbiſhop Becket from the miſrepreſentations of patriotic and proteſtant writers. But, as he profeſſes to feel an enthuſiaſtic admiration for the memory of that prelate, his impartiality is, *primâ facie*, problematical; for whoever writes under the influence of enthuſiaſm, will *inſenſibly* be induced to gloſs over, even in ordinary caſes, the foibles and vices of that perſon who is the object of ſuch warmth of ſentiment; much more will he be inclined to deviate from the line of diſpaſſionate remark, when treating of a violent conteſt between his favorite and a powerful antagoniſt; for he will then be ſtrongly diſpoſed to exalt the merit of the former on the ruins of the reputation of the latter. How far theſe obſervations are applicable to that part of Mr. Berington's "Hiſtory of the Life and Reign of Henry II. Richard, and "John," which relates to the conduct of Thomas Becket, the reflecting reader of that work may eaſily decide.

late

late accommodation, the primate had intended to advance ſuch other demands as the king had already rejected in the courſe of the negotiation; it being his favorite aim to render his triumph as complete as his arrogant and vain-glorious temper could deſire; an aim which he was encouraged to purſue by his confidence in the aſſiſtance of the court of Rome, as well as in the co-operation of his warm friend the king of France, whoſe jealouſy of Henry he had ſtudiouſly fomented during his exile. A. D. 1170.

When that ſally of paſſion which had proved the undeſigned cauſe of the aſſaſſination of Becket, had given way to cool reflexion, the king had referred the conduct of that prelate to the deliberation of a council of his nobility; and it was reſolved, that the chief juſticiary of Normandy ſhould be ſent over to England, with orders to the young king to ſeiſe the perſon of the archbiſhop, if he would not ſubmit to what the government required of him [56]. But the execution of this ſcheme was anticipated by the late cataſtrophe, the news of which had no ſooner reached Henry, than he broke out into a profuſion of lamentations and complaints, and confining himſelf to his palace for ſome days, abſtained from all the comforts of life, and diſcontinued his uſual recreations [57]. The biſhop of Liſieux wrote an account to the pope of the ſorrow teſtified by the king on this melancholy occaſion, and aſſured his holineſs of that prince's innocence of the nefarious deed. On the other hand, the king of France, the earl of Blois, and the archbiſhop of Sens, diſpatched letters to the pontiff, conjuring him to unſheath the ſword of St. Peter, that the horrible murder of the primate might be avenged by the infliction of ſome A. D. 1171.

56. Stephan. Vit. S. Thom. Matth. Par. p. 120.

57. Hiſt. Quadrip. lib. iv.

A. D. 1171. exquiſite puniſhment on one who was an enemy to the whole Chriſtian fraternity, and who, in perfidy and cruelty, exceeded the moſt deteſted characters of ancient times [58].

To prevent the effects of papal indignation, Henry ſent a ſplendid ambaſſy to the court of Alexander. Richard de Barre, one of the envoys employed on this important occaſion, arrived at the pope's reſidence before his collegues; but found himſelf treated with a contemptuous abhorrence by the whole ſacred college, and could not even procure an audience of the pontiff. Four other perſons belonging to the ambaſſy met with the ſame diſreſpect, though two of theſe, after much entreaty, were at length admitted to a conſiſtory, where, on ſaluting the pope and cardinals in the name of their maſter, they were interrupted by the general clamors of the aſſembly, as if the mention of Henry's name had been an abomination to pious ears. In a private audience, they obtained a more patient attention; but had ſmall hopes of warding off the ſentence which impended over their ſovereign, who, it was reported, would be included in the ſolemn cenſures and maledictions which his holineſs would fulminate againſt notorious delinquents, according to annual cuſtom, on the Thurſday before Eaſter. But, by the arts of Henry's repreſentatives, who, exceeding their inſtructions, declared, on oath, the king's readineſs to ſwear that he would ſubmit to the pope's will in this affair, that day paſſed without any expreſs cenſures againſt him, Alexander contenting himſelf with a general ſentence of excommunication againſt the adviſers, abettors, and perpetrators, of the murder of Becket. The three remaining ambaſſadors, who did not reach Freſcati till after this oath had been taken by their bre-

58. Epiſt. apud Hoved. p. 299, 300.

thren,

thren, were unwilling to join in it; and, in conſequence of their refuſal, the pope confirmed an interdict which the archbiſhop of Sens had laid on the foreign dominions of the king of England. But the ſolicitations of the envoys, and the diſtribution of pecuniary favors among the members of the ſacred college, procured from Alexander a ſuſpenſion of this interdict, a promiſe of abſolving the prelates who had been expoſed to the cenſures of Becket, and the nomination of two legates to negotiate with Henry on the final ſettlement of the buſineſs [59]. A. D. 1171.

After the king's return from a ſucceſsful expedition into Ireland, the narrative of which we ſhall poſtpone, that it may not abruptly encroach on the regular connexion of the proceedings conſequent on the death of Becket, he met the papal legates, who were the cardinals Albert and Theodine, in Normandy. He expected, from the luſtre of his Hibernian enterpriſe, and the increaſe of his regal power, to overawe the pope into eaſy terms of compromiſe and reconciliation; and the event did not wholly diſappoint his expectations. Though the legates at firſt inſiſted on conditions which he regarded as unreaſonable, his firmneſs procured a relaxation of thoſe terms; and he made peace with Alexander and the church on the following ſtipulations. Having voluntarily taken an oath in the cathedral of Avranches, importing that he neither commanded nor deſired the death of the primate, and was ſeiſed with the moſt violent grief when he heard of it, he engaged, by way of penance and ſatisfaction to the church for a crime to which his paſſionate exclamations had given occaſion, to beſtow as much money as the knights templars ſhould deem ſufficient for the maintenance,

59. Epiſt. S. Thomæ, lib. v.—Hoved. p. 301.

during

A. D. 1171. during one year, of 200 knights, who ſhould be employed in the defence of the Holy Land; to embark perſonally in a cruſade for three years, unleſs the pope ſhould diſpenſe with this obligation; to ſuffer eccleſiaſtical appeals to be made by his ſubjects to the court of Rome, if the appellants would give ſecurity for their attempting nothing to the prejudice of him or his kingdom; to give up thoſe conſtitutions which had been introduced in his time to the detriment of the church; to reſtore all the lands which had been wreſted from the ſee of Canterbury, and grant a complete pardon to all who, for their adherence to Becket, had ſuffered the effects of his reſentment [60]. Theſe were more favorable terms than the king's friends at firſt expected; for, whatever conſtruction the pope might affix to the words of the agreement, Henry did not in fact give up the conſtitutions of Clarendon, which, he had conſtantly affirmed, were not new in his time, but had prevailed under the adminiſtration of his grandfather; and though he in ſome meaſure re-eſtabliſhed the papal ſupremacy over his kingdom by permitting appeals, which, during his controverſy with the church, had been ſtrictly prohibited, he deprived them of their pernicious tendency by the demand of ſecurity from the appellants. With reſpect to that article which bound him to become a cruſard for three years, he juſtly flattered himſelf with the proſpect of obtaining, by the influence of corruption, a diſpenſation from a perſonal expedition againſt the infidels.

Thus did the vigor and addreſs of Henry procure, from a court which had been accuſtomed to give law

60. Hiſt. Quadrip. — Epiſt. S. Thom. lib. v. — Benedict. Abb. tom. i.

to

to monarchs, an eaſy and not diſhonorable termination of a conteſt which, by a furious and obſtinate pontiff, might have been puſhed againſt him with ſuch violence as to have thrown his affairs into great diſorder, to have unhinged his authority, and circumſcribed his dominion. A. D. 1171.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Henry undertakes an expedition into Ireland.—He receives the ſubmiſſions of the petty princes of that iſland;—and even of the principal Hibernian ſovereign.—His ſon Henry rebels againſt him;—and ſeduces two of his brothers to follow that unnatural example.—The kings of France and Scotland co-operate with the rebellious princes.—The king gains great advantages over his enemies.—He gratifies the church by ſubmitting to flagellation at Becket's ſepulchre.—His troops take the Scottiſh king priſoner in a ſkirmiſh.—He at length triumphs over the confederacy which had threatened his ruin.—The king of Scotland purchaſes his releaſe by engaging to hold his crown in vaſſalage.—The troubles of Henry's dominions are ſucceeded by ſome years of peace.

A. D. 1171. FROM his firſt approach to adoleſcence, Henry had diſplayed a ſtrong tincture of ambition, and an ardent thirſt of glory. His aſpiring views had been gratified, at an early age, by the poſſeſſion of ample dominions; but his avidity of power, not content with thoſe great eſtabliſhments, inſpired him with the idea of ſubjecting Ireland to the Engliſh yoke. He had not been one year on the throne of his anceſtors, when he applied to pope Adrian IV. the only Engliſhman who ever occupied St. Peter's chair, for the permiſſion of invading Ireland, on pretence of reforming the rude manners and ferocious habits of the natives. The pontiff gladly received this application, and granted a bull to Henry, authoriſing him to exert his efforts for reducing Ireland to obedience, on the conſideration of

A NEW MAP of IRELAND, with THE ROADS.

11 10 9 8

55 54 53 52

7 0 9 8

ATLANTIC OCEAN

North Cape
Sheep Haven
Lough Swilly
Tory I.
Inis Bophin
Inis Boffin
Dunfinnin
Greve
Ray
C. Doe
I. Farn
Stakes of Arran
North Isle of Arran
Inis Bosson
Templecrone
Killeno
Leigh Reagh
Letterkenny
Johns Town
DONEGAL
Fin I.
Raphoe
Kee I.
Welches Town
Kilfoni
Lis Eniskeel
Ballymasey
C. Telling
Sligare
Mount Charles
Eask I.
Inismore
Raghlin I.
Kellybeggs
Donegall
Malin Bay
Kellybeggs Hay
Drumhoge
Arrahdale
St. John Cape
Donegal Bay
Ballyshannon
Inis Murry
Milk Haven
Bellick
Tully
Inishkeel
Ardermon
Garrison
Sligo Bay
Sligo
Ballintogher
Drumahire
Smadlingar
Kinaurly
Ballysadare
Dunfinn Hd
Broad Haven
Calliagh Crum
The Mullet
Broad Harbour
Sandah
Doonerin
Ballycran
Daniel
Ennisenone
Killalia
Ardore
Leam
Lough Doohishe
Nallenroe
Cloonekilly
Bellech
Connor
SLIGO
New Town
Divillan Rock
Saddle Head
Kilaen
Ennisove
China Court
C. Carow
Ballimote
Drumsharbe
Black Harbour
Turnagh Brown
Achony
LEITRIM
Black Rock
Saddle Head Bay
Ballycroy
Adderspoule
Rathmanna
Fenford
Ballahy
Leitrim
Carrigallen
Achill Head
Achill
Clegin
Ballycullan
COUNAUGHT
Turlogh
Kilkelly
Hollyford
Calloe
Elphin
Broca
Castlebar
Ballinahy
Loughlin
Tulsk
Boffin I.
Kildanat I.
Clew Bay
Clara I.
Newport
Kin turk
ROSCOMMON
Castlereagh
Streets Town
Castle Burk
Kilcoure
C. Corna
Ballyville
Ballyvarey
Lough Mask
Ennisturk
Kuhur
Ennis Bofine
Kilnaliagh
Ballimoe
Drymills
Holtsmount
Ballinrobe
Dunmore
LONGFORD
Fermoy
Colehill
Fertamore
Dunamon
Findane
Mount Talbot
Killyan
Tuam
Corrib
Headford
Cahermorris
Aghanure
Birts Hall
Moyrish
Round Stone Bay
Drumcona
Dangan
Galway
Inver Castle
Oranmore
Athenry
Ashrim
Clonfert
Eyrecourt
Banagher
Slime Head
Dogs Head
Onanmore I.
Muckerin
Keel
Ballinahinch
Ross
Shrule
Clare Tuam
Morlogh
Castle Blakeney
Drum
Ahascragh
Ballinasloe
Moyrus
Clare
Galway
Lough Rea
Killimore
Portumna
Killeara
Coolfin
Birr
Leap
Mountbolus
Lough Derg
Killaloe
Ennis
Keil
Silver Mines
Bryanas
Sixmile Br.
Limerick
Abington
Askeyton
Adair
Pallace
Castlel
Cullen
Tipperary
Black Cas.
Cahir Clonmel
Ballycrenan
Ballyquirke
Ballipeeren
Mitchells Town
Lismore
Castle Lyons
Rathcormuck
Carrigtuft
Blewbell
Youghall
Cork
Middleton
Ballicotton Bay
Clovne
Inishannan
Cultin
Kinsale
Cork Harbour
Poor Hd
Old Head
Courtmac Sherry Bay
the 7 Hands
Clonakilty Bay
Castle Haven
Gallev Hd
Baltimore Bay
Cape Clear Id.
Rols
Timoleague
Clonakilty
Killroan
Kinsale Harb.
Charles Ft.
Oyster Haven
Bandon
Enniskrane
Killaloban
Crooks Town
Gortroe
Inchecoccia
B. of Adme
Barnasnaw
Macroom
Blarney
Carrigadrohid
Lough Allen
Ballyconnel
Drumshanbo
Ballinamore
Achonry
Ballinafad
Ballymote
Tubbercurry
Collooney
Ballysadare
Ardfert
Tralee Bay
Brandon Hd
St. Brandons Hill
Ballyheigh Bay
Ballyheigh Hd
Cape Sybel
Dennarling Hd
Kilcoobin
Ventry
Dingle
Dingle Bay or Castlemain Harbour
Castlemain
Aghadoe
Killarny
Killorglin
Black Stones
Kells
Sheby Hd
Valentia I.
Bray Hd
Skelig Rocks
Ballynskeligs Bay
Lamb Hd
Kenmare Riv
Quelagh Bay
Cods Hd
Ballydonagan Bay
Dursey Isle and Cape
Bull
Kilcummine Bay
Black Ball
Sheeps Hd
Dunmanus Bay
Three Castle Hd
Mizen Hd
Barley Cove
Tarmons
Dunkerron
Blandford
Kilmakilloge
Bantry
Whiddy I.
Glanmire
Cork
Youghall
Mallow
Kanturk
Castle Island
Castle Drum
Listowell
Ballingarry
Lixnaw
Abbyfeale
Drumculloghy
Kilfinane
Galtbally
Charleville
Milltown
Newmarket
Dromcollogher
Ballingrane
Glin
Foynes
Askeaton
Limerick
Tarbert
Kilrush
Scattery I.
Shannon
Clanderlaw
Killard
Cahirciveen
Kilbrittain Bay
Cape Lean or Loop Head
Shannon Mouth
Doon
Ballyeagh
Kilrush
Querin
Moyarta
Kilmarry
Clare
Ennistymon
Lahinch
Ennis Keltry
Ballyvaughan
Burren
Corrofin
Ennistymon
Ballyvela Pt.
Kilfenora
Tullagh
Ennis Keltry Isles
Inishmore
Inishmaan
Inishere
Aran Isles
Gort
Ballyturin
Crusheen
Feakle
Tulla
Scariff
Mountshannon
Portumna
Loughrea
Kilconnan
Killaskan
Black Hd Bay
Black Hd
North Passage
Killeny
Deadmans Bay
Gorumna
Lettermullin I.
Irrontin Hd
Inishmaan
Inishmore
Aran Isles
Galway Bay
Kilkieran
Roundstone
Ballinakill
Clifden
Ballinaboy
Ballinaskeagh
Ballinahinch
Muckruss
Killarney
Lough Leane
Mangerton
Glengariff
Bantry
Whiddy I.
Dunmanus Bay
Skibbereen
Baltimore
Castle Haven
Rosscarbery
Timoleague
Courtmac Sherry Bay
Old Head
Kinsale
Cork Harbour
Poor Hd
Ballycotton Bay
Youghall
Middleton
Cloyne
Midleton
Carrigtuft
Blewbell
Cork
Castle Martyr
Youghall
Lismore
Tallow
Dungarvan
Waterford
Tramore
Dunmore
Passage
Ballyhack
Arthurstown
Duncannon
Hook Head
Fethard
Tintern
Ross
Wexford
Enniscorthy
Gorey
Arklow
Wicklow
Bray
Dublin
Howth
Malahide
Swords
Balbriggan
Skerries
Drogheda
Dundalk
Carlingford
Newry
Warrenpoint
Rostrevor
Kilkeel
Annalong
Dundrum
Strangford
Portaferry
Donaghadee
Bangor
Belfast
Carrickfergus
Larne
Glenarm
Ballycastle
Fair Head
Rathlin I.
Torr Head
Cushendall
Cushendun
Red Bay
Glenarm
Carnlough
Larne
Island Magee
Belfast
Carrickfergus
Whitehead
Donaghadee
Portaferry
Strangford
Ardglass
Killough
Downpatrick
Newcastle
Kilkeel
Warrenpoint
Rostrevor
Newry
Carlingford
Dundalk
Castle Bellingham
Ardee
Collon
Slane
Drogheda
Duleek
Balbriggan
Skerries
Malahide
Howth
Dublin
Bray
Wicklow
Arklow
Gorey
Enniscorthy
Wexford
Ross
Fethard
Tintern
Hook Head
Duncannon
Arthurstown
Passage
Dunmore
Tramore
Dungarvan
Lismore
Tallow
Waterford

8 7 6 5

Enistruhull Rathlin I. the Goint Cantire Sanda Tarnberry

Coledagh Hd Fair Head Ailen Girvan

Castle Cary Castlendon Bay

Red Bay

Fairland Pt Loch Ryal SCOTLAND

Glenarm Bay Maidens Whiteen

Old Fleet Harb. Port Patrick 55

Magee I. Glenluce Bay Wigtown Bay

LONDONDERRY ANTRIM Cape White Haven Mull of Galloway

Copland Isles

Donaghadee

Lough Belfast Newtown Bally Walter

Neagh Lisburn Cloghy Bay

Quintin Pt

Strangford Bay

Killard Point

Killough or Port St Ann

Irvins Point

Dundrum Bay

IRISH

I. of MAN 54

Calf of Man

SEA

Carlingford Bay

Dundalk Bay

Drumany Pt

Drogheda

Drogheda Bay

New Haven

St Patricks I

Lambay I.

Ireland's Eye

Howth Head

DUBLIN

Dublin Harbour

Holy Head

ANGLESEA I.

Dalkey I.

Bray Head

Rath Down

WICKLOW 53

Wicklow

Bravchipuli Pt

North Ground

Middle Ground

South Ground

New Ground

Tuskard

Carnsore Pt

Black Rock

Saltees

Hook Tower

Waterford Haven

Strumble Hd

St Davids Hd St Davids 52

Ramsey I.

St Brides Bay

Gresholm I. Scomar I.

Skokum I.

Milford Haven

St Gowens Pt

WALES

ST GEORGE'S CHANNEL

Irish Miles.

5 15 25 35 45

British Statute Miles.

5 15 30 45 60 75 90

8 Degrees of Longitude 7 West from London. 6 5

his engaging for the payment of an annual penny to the Romiſh ſee from every houſe in that iſland [1]. A. D. 1171. Though the king had thus procured the ſanction of the church to his ambitious aims, he was induced, by the advice of his mother [2], and the ſuggeſtions of prudent expectation, to poſtpone the execution of this enterpriſe. Conceiving that the opportunity was now more favorable to his views, as ſome events had ſince occurred in Ireland by which ſuch a meaſure was facilitated, he reſumed his intentions of Hibernian conqueſt.

To preface the reduction of Ireland in this reign with a progreſſive detail of the earlier hiſtory of that country, would be inconſiſtent with the peculiar ſcope of the preſent work. As, on the other hand, a ſudden irruption into the circumſtances of this important enterpriſe, without ſuch a preparatory ſtatement as would elucidate the ſubject, would tend to the diſguſt of the reader, it may be proper to introduce a conciſe narrative of Hibernian ſtory.

From the contiguity of Ireland to Britain, as well as from the reſemblance between the ancient inhabitants of both iſlands, there is ſufficient reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the former was originally coloniſed from the latter, which, from it's more convenient ſituation with regard to the continent, was, in all probability, inhabited before it's weſtern neighbour. At what period Ireland was planted, is a point involved in a depth of obſcurity, which the patient labors of the antiquary have not been able to illuminate. It is alſo a matter of uncertainty, whether any early migrations took place from Spain into that iſland; and though ſome of the Iriſh writers have affirmed, with all the confidence of

1. Matth. Par. ad ann. 1155. 2. Chron. Norman.—Ann. Waverl.

anti-

A. D. 1171. antiquarian bigotry, that their country received the uſe of letters from a colony of Spaniards, who ſettled there a thouſand years prior to the birth of Chriſt, this account muſt be ſupported by more credible teſtimony before it can meet with the aſſent of modern times. It is ſuppoſed by many, that the Scots who, in conjunction with the Picts, began to haraſs the Roman province in Britain during the fourth century, and who erected a monarchy in North-Britain about the beginning of the ſixth, were the poſterity of a Scythian colony which migrated into Ireland from Biſcay and Galicia. But this opinion is controverted by others, who aſſert, that the Scots were not of Scythian extract, and did not emigrate from Spain, but were the deſcendants of the ancient Britons who firſt coloniſed Ireland; and that they were not called *Scots* from any alluſion to a Scythian origin, but from a Celtic word ſignifying *wanderers*, which the provincial Britons impoſed on theſe freebooters when they firſt came from Ireland to ravage South-Britain, but which they themſelves did not acknowledge as their true gentile name.

Little dependence can be placed on that part of Iriſh hiſtory which relates to times antecedent to the fourth or fifth century. Though Chriſtianity is ſaid to have been introduced into that country before the appearance of St. Patrick, it had not made any great progreſs by the time of his arrival; but his endeavours contributed to the diffuſion of this faith among the Iriſh, and to the removal of the reproach of extreme ignorance from that people; for he is generally believed to have firſt communicated to them the uſe of letters, and the knowledge of the Roman language [3]. Religion and learning ſoon began to flouriſh under the auſpices of this eccleſiaſtic and his fellow-

3. St. Patrick's miſſion is ſuppoſed to have commenced in 432.

miſſiona-

miſſionaries; and, in the lapſe of time, many Hibernian clergymen traveled into various parts of Europe, to communicate to others the inſtructions which they had imbibed in their own country. But the bulk of the people ſeem to have profited little by the introduction of letters; for they continued a barbarous nation till the conqueſt of their iſland by the ſecond Henry, and (it may perhaps be ſaid, without breach of truth or candor) to a much later period. A. D. 1171.

Notwithſtanding the paſſionate deſire of dominion which the Romans long cheriſhed, we do not find that they ever invaded Ireland, though they might ſo conveniently have attempted the reduction of it after they had provinciated South-Britain. It remained alſo unattacked by the princes of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy, except by Egfrid king of Northumberland, who ſent over an army of his ſubjects with views of conqueſt; but the Iriſh acted with ſuch ſpirit againſt theſe invaders, that they ſoon deſiſted from their attempts. Near the cloſe of the eighth century, the vagabonds of Scandinavia began to viſit the Hibernian coaſts; and, after occaſional predatory deſcents, a Norwegian chief, named Turgeſe, endeavoured, with ſome ſucceſs, to form a ſettlement in the iſland. This barbarian continued, for many years, to proſecute his victories over the Iriſh, whom he treated with great arrogance and cruelty; but he was at length taken priſoner, about the middle of the ninth century, by Melachlin, king of Meath, who ordered him to be put to death. Encouraged by this inſtance of good fortune, the natives ſlaughtered or expelled moſt of the Scandinavian coloniſts; but frequent ſwarms of adventurers flocking from the northern hive, the Iriſh were gradually deprived of a conſiderable part of their coaſt. Anlaff, a prince of the Daniſh blood-royal, landing among them

A. D. 1171. with numerous followers, not only gained ſeveral victories over the old inhabitants, but obliged all the Danes and Norwegians whom he found in the iſland to ſubmit to his ſway. The ſettlement of theſe foreigners produced a change in the maritime parts of Ireland; well-built towns riſing up in different parts of the coaſt, which formed a contraſt to the wretched collections of wattled huts that conſtituted the towns of the natives. For ſeveral centuries, hoſtilities ſubſiſted, with ſome intermiſſion, between the latter and the *Eaſterlings*; for ſo the ſtrangers were denominated, on account of the eaſtern ſituation of Scandinavia with reſpect to Ireland.

Long before the time of Henry II. the Iriſh had lived in ſepts or clans, each of which acknowledged a particular chieftain. Theſe petty chiefs were under ſubjection to the ruler of that province in which their reſpective clans were ſituated. The iſland was divided into five large governments, namely, thoſe of Ulſter, Connaught, Leinſter, and North and South Munſter. The princes who ruled over each of theſe diviſions were ſtyled kings; an appellation which the moſt powerful heads of clans likewiſe aſſumed. Of the five principal kings, one was elected, in a general aſſembly of the national ſtates, monarch of all Ireland. The deſire of this pre-eminence gave riſe to violent conteſts, which frequently produced the immature death of the reigning monarch [4].

The form of government which prevailed in Ireland was ariſtocratical; for, notwithſtanding the occaſional meeting of the ſtates of each kingdom of the pentarchy, the chieftains had ſo much influence and authority, that the people were mere ciphers in the adminiſtration. The mutual animoſities of the chiefs embroiled them in continual wars; the ſpirit of rapine, ill checked by

4. Antiquitates Hibern. à Ware.

the

the *Brehon* law[5], rendered property extremely insecure; the want of able and enlightened princes impeded the progreſs of national improvement; and the invaſions of the Danes and Norwegians contributed to the decline of that learning for which the Hibernian clergy had been celebrated, by the deſtruction of monaſteries and the maſſacre of the profeſſors of religion. A. D. 1171.

The pentarchy was ſtill ſubſiſting when Henry formed the deſign of invading Ireland: but an alteration had taken place with regard to the kingdoms of which it was compoſed; for thoſe of North and South Munſter had been conſolidated into one, and Meath had been erected into a ſeparate royalty. The circumſtances which gave the Engliſh monarch a very favorable opportunity for the proſecution of his purpoſe, were the following. Dermot Mac-Morrogh, king of Leinſter, had arouſed the general hatred of his ſubjects by his tyranny and barbarity: but their indignation being prevented from breaking out into action by the terror of his martial talents, they groaned under his deſpotiſm for a ſeries of years. After occaſional hoſtilities with the neighbouring kings, he excited, by a private outrage, the reſentment of a potent chieftain, named O'Ruark, whoſe wife Devorgalla, the beautiful daughter of the king of Meath, he carried off in the abſence of her huſband. O'Ruark, however, prevailed on Turlogh the Great, king of Connaught and monarch of Ireland, to aſſiſt him with his arms againſt the daring violator of female honor, whom he compelled, by an invaſion of Leinſter, to reſtore the princeſs, whoſe crime was afterwards atoned, in the opinion of that age, by her benefactions to the abbey of Drogheda. The deſire of revenge ſtimulated the of-

5. The *brehons* were hereditary magiſtrates, who uſually adminiſtered juſtice in the open air. *Ware.*

A. D. 1171. fended huſband to commit furious ravages in the territories of Dermot; but the latter, being ſupported by O'Lachlin, the ſucceſſor of Turlogh in the ſovereignty of Ireland, maintained himſelf, for ſeveral years, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his throne, till Roderic O'Conor, who had before obtained the throne of Connaught on the death of his father Turlogh, became monarch of the whole iſland on the deceaſe of O'Lachlin. The new Hibernian paramount, being not only ſolicited by O'Ruark to aid him in the further gratification of his vengeance againſt Dermot, but importuned alſo by the people of Leinſter to chaſtiſe that prince for his wantonneſs of oppreſſion, invaded the tyrant's dominions with a ſtrong body of troops, reinforced by an army from Meath, and by a corps of auxiliaries from the petty kingdom of Dublin, which had been founded long before by the Eaſterlings. Dermot, being unable to muſter a force ſufficient for an effectual reſiſtance, was ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of flight. Eſcaping into England, from which Henry was then abſent, he reſolved to attend that monarch's court in Aquitaine, with a determination of requeſting his aid for the recovery of the throne of Leinſter. Not having abandoned his deſigns upon Ireland, Henry was pleaſed with an opportunity of promoting his ultimate views by an encouragement of the diſſenſions which prevailed among the Iriſh princes; and flattered himſelf, that, by accepting the vaſſalage promiſed by Dermot in the event of his being reſtored by Engliſh ſuccours, he ſhould be enabled, by the terror of his arms, concurring with the future aid which he might receive from a prince ſo much indebted to him, to achieve the eaſy conqueſt of a barbarous and divided nation. But the diſturbances of his Gallic dominions rendering his preſence neceſſary on the continent, he would

would not take a perſonal ſhare in the reſtoration of the king of Leinſter, though he willingly gave him letters patent, containing a general licence to his ſubjects to aſſiſt the fugitive prince in re-gaining his kingdom [6]. A. D. 1171.

Deriving great hopes of ſucceſs from the enterpriſing ſpirit of the Engliſh barons, Dermot haſtened over to Briſtol, where he was maintained by an allowance from the royal treaſury. But, for ſome time, neither the production of Henry's letters, nor the liberal promiſes of the Hibernian exile, could allure adventurers to a concurrence in the propoſed expedition. Not diſcouraged by this ill ſucceſs, Dermot ſtill exerted his talents of perſuaſion, and at length prevailed on Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, who had injured his fortune by his prodigality, to embark in the enterpriſe of his reſtoration. The conditions on which the earl engaged to aſſiſt him, were, that he ſhould eſpouſe Eva, the daughter of Mac-Morrogh, and be appointed his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of Leinſter. Having concluded this compact, Dermot repaired to St. David's, where he aſſociated two other noblemen, Fitz-Gerald and Fitz-Stephen, in his deſign. Truſting to the effect of theſe engagements, he ventured to return to Leinſter, where he paſſed the winter in the friendly concealment of a monaſtery which he had founded in the neighbourhood of Fernes. Here he ſecretly negotiated with ſome faithful friends, with whom he concerted the beſt means of providing for the ſucceſs of his new confederates [7].

In the following ſpring, he emerged from his retirement, in conſequence of the arrival of a ſmall body of

6. Hibern. Expugnat. à Giraldo Cambrenſe, lib. i.—This interview between Henry and Mac-Morrogh took place in 1168

7. Giraldi Hibern. Expugn. lib. i.

A. D. 1171. forces from South-Wales. This corps being augmented by ſome Iriſh troops, he took the field, and had two ſkirmiſhes with O'Ruark and Roderic O'Conor. Finding himſelf unable, at preſent, to cope with theſe antagoniſts, he purchaſed an accommodation by a preſent of gold to O'Ruark, and by making ſubmiſſions to Roderic. Not long afterwards, Fitz-Stephen landed in the county of Wexford, with a force not exceeding 30 knights, 60 eſquires, and 300 archers. The next day, Maurice de Prendergaſt diſembarked with a much ſmaller force. Theſe adventurers, being joined by Dermot, formed the ſiege of Wexford, a walled town belonging to the Eaſterlings. Of this place they became maſters on the ſecond day of the ſiege; and Dermot immediately beſtowed it on Fitz-Stephen. The victors then marched againſt the prince of Offory, who had revolted from Dermot; but the advantages obtained by them kindled a general alarm among the Iriſh princes, who held a great council to conſider of the danger to which they were expoſed from the introduction of foreign arms. It was reſolved, that a numerous army ſhould be levied with the utmoſt diſpatch, to oppoſe Dermot and his allies; and Roderic, as ſovereign of Ireland, marched into Leinſter at the head of this national hoſt. When he approached the camp of Dermot, he ſent an offer of liberal preſents to Fitz-Stephen, on condition of his departure from Ireland with all his forces. This propoſal being rejected, he offered to re-eſtabliſh Dermot on the throne of Leinſter, if he would unite with the other princes of the iſland for the extermination of the ſtrangers. Mac-Morrogh refuſing his aſſent to theſe terms, Roderic prepared to aſſault his entrenchments; but, by the mediation of ſome of the Iriſh chiefs, negotiations were re-commenced, and it was agreed, that Dermot ſhould be

be completely re-inſtated in his kingdom, provided he would ſwear fealty to Roderic as monarch of Ireland, and would engage to diſmiſs the foreigners who had come over at his ſolicitation, as well as to give no further invitations of that kind [8]. A. D. 1171.

Dermot, like moſt other tyrants, paid little regard to his honor; for, as ſoon as he had heard of the arrival of Fitz-Gerald, the uterine brother of Fitz-Stephen, with a reſolute band of adventurers, he prepared to join him with his forces, inſtead of taking ſuch meaſures as would have precluded the probability of Engliſh encroachments. While Fitz-Stephen was occupied in the erection of a fort near Wexford, Mac-Morrogh and Fitz-Gerald advanced into the territory of Dublin, which the Eaſterlings, many years before, had conſented to hold of the kingdom of Leinſter. As they had ſhaken off this dependence, and had concurred in the expulſion of Dermot, whoſe father they had killed, that prince now ravaged their lands, and ſubjected many individuals of their number to military execution. But, being called away by his ſon-in-law Donald, prince of Limeric, to defend him againſt Roderic, he concluded a treaty with Aſculf, king of Dublin, who agreed to hold that city and diſtrict under the crown of Leinſter. He now employed his foreign allies in ſuccouring Donald; and they performed their commiſſion with great ſucceſs, defeating Roderic in ſeveral actions, and compelling him to make a precipitate retreat into Connaught.

Triumphing in his complete reſtoration, Mac-Morrogh aſpired to the ſovereignty of Ireland, and communicated this idea to Fitz-Gerald and his brother, who adviſed him to defer his attempts for the acquiſition of that dignity, till he ſhould have received the

8. Girald. Hib. Exp. lib. i.

A.D. 1171. succours which he expected from the earl of Pembroke. To that nobleman he therefore dispatched a letter, requesting him to expedite his voyage to Ireland with as many followers as his influence could assemble, that some momentous undertaking might be achieved. The earl's ambition, and his desire of recruiting his fortune, inclined him to make no longer delay; but, as the letters patent granted by Henry were now superseded by the restoration of Dermot, he deemed it requisite to consult his sovereign before he engaged in any expedition which might lead to the conquest of Ireland. In an audience which the king gave him in Normandy, he begged permission to comply with Dermot's invitation. Henry, apprehensive that his own prospect of laurels from an Hibernian enterprise might be anticipated by the courage and military talents of Strongbow, received him with coolness, and gave him an evasive answer. The earl, affixing to the king's words a construction the most favorable to his views, returned to England, and prosecuted his preparations. Before he himself embarked, he sent over Raymond, one of his knights, with some cavalry and archers; who, landing near Waterford, and being joined by a small party of their countrymen, gained a celebrated victory over an army of Easterlings, exceeding their own by a manifold superiority of number[9].

When the earl of Pembroke had conducted his troops to the sea-side, he received an order from the king, prohibiting his departure[10]. But he was so eager to pursue the brilliant prospect which he had in his eye, that he ventured to disobey the royal injunctions, and to trust to Henry's generosity of mind for pardon. He sailed from Milford Haven with 200

9. Girald. Hib. Exp. lib. i. cap. 12—15.
10. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 26.—Chron. Hemingf.

knights,

knights, and about 1000 infantry; and having reached the coaſt of Ireland in ſafety, aſſaulted Waterford, a ſtrong Norwegian city, on the ſecond morning after his debarkation. Having taken it by a *coup de main*, and deluged it with the blood of it's inhabitants, he was congratulated on his rapid ſucceſs by Dermot, who, in company with Fitz-Stephen, Fitz-Gerald, and Raymond, arrived in the city at the time of it's capture. His marriage with Eva of Leinſter was now ſolemniſed; but the nuptial feſtivity was clouded by an alarming account, purporting that Aſculf, the ruler of the Dublin ſtate, had again revolted from Dermot, and had procured the perſonal aid of Roderic O'Conor, at the head of a conſiderable army. The king of Leinſter and his new ſon-in-law inſtantly marched towards Dublin, and formed the ſiege of that city, which was then ſo flouriſhing as to rival, in the opinion of a cotemporary Engliſh writer[11], the metropolis of this kingdom. Roderic being drawn away by an invaſion of Connaught from the prince of Limeric, his receſſion ſo diſcouraged Aſculf, that he was unwilling to reject Dermot's demand of a ſurrender and of hoſtages; but, the time allowed by the latter for the deliberation of the beſieged on the ſubject of his requiſition, having expired while they were arranging the ſelection of hoſtages, Milo de Cogan, commander of the Engliſh van-guard, ſuddenly aſſaulted the ramparts without orders; and Raymond, at the head of another diviſion, imitated his example. Confounded at an attack ſo unexpected, when they were on the point of ſurrendering, the beſieged made ſo weak a reſiſtance, that the aſſailants ſoon gained full poſſeſſion of the place, Aſculf and the principal citizens making their eſcape to the Orkneys. On the recommendation of the earl of Pembroke,

A. D. 1171.

11. William of Newburgh.

Milo

A. D. 1171. Milo de Cogan was intruſted by Dermot with the government of Dublin; while the king and the earl led their troops into the province of Meath, as well as into O'Ruark's territories in Connaught, which they filled with ſlaughter and conflagration [12].

Dermot's violation of his treaty with Roderic, by proſecuting further conqueſts with the aſſiſtance of foreigners, induced that monarch to write to him in peremptory terms, inſiſting on the diſcharge of his auxiliary ſtrangers, on pain of the decapitation of his natural ſon, whom he had given as an hoſtage for his punctual execution of the treaty. Mac-Morrogh, regardleſs of the fate of his innocent offſpring, ſent a haughty reply to Roderic, aſſuring him that he would not deſiſt from his hoſtile attempts till he ſhould have reduced the whole kingdom of Connaught, and have acquired the ſupreme authority over all the Hibernian ſtates. Roderic had no ſooner received this epiſtle, than he pronounced ſentence of death againſt the ſon of Dermot, as a legal victim to the demands of violated faith. He then convoked a general council of the Iriſh clergy, who declared it to be their opinion, that the Engliſh invaſion of their country was a juſt judgment upon the people for their iniquities, particularly for their having frequently purchaſed, as ſlaves, children who had been kidnapped in England. It was therefore decreed, with a view of atoning for the guilt of that practice, and of ſoftening the ſuppoſed reſentment of the Engliſh, that immediate liberty ſhould be granted to every Engliſh ſlave throughout Ireland [13].

Intelligence of the late conqueſts made by his ſubjects in Ireland, being communicated to Henry, he was not only offended at the diſobedience of the earl of

12. Girald. Hib. Exp. lib. i. cap. 16, 17.—Theſe exploits were performed in 1170. 13. Girald. Hib. Expugn. lib. i. cap. 18.

Pembroke,

Pembroke, but was alarmed at the probability of his forming an independent ſtate in that iſland, and even of his acquiring the ſovereignty of the whole Iriſh nation, as the nominated ſucceſſor of Dermot, who, with the aid of his Engliſh allies, was in a fair way of obtaining that envied pre-eminence. To check the ambitious progreſs of the earl and his collegues, he iſſued a proclamation, ordering the immediate diſcontinuance of all intercourſe between his dominions and thoſe of Ireland, and requiring the ſpeedy return of all his ſubjects who had emigrated to that iſland. Strongbow, whoſe eſtates had been before ſeiſed by the king for his diſregard of the royal commands, was now deſirous of deprecating Henry's reſentment; and therefore ſent Raymond to him with a ſubmiſſive letter, declaring that all his Hibernian acquiſitions were at his ſovereign's diſpoſal. The king's anger was ſoftened by this epiſtle; but he was unwilling to give an explicit promiſe of pardon to the earl, and diſmiſſed the meſſenger without a favorable anſwer [14]. A. D. 1171.

The king of Leinſter dying about this time, his ſon-in-law, earl Strongbow, ſucceeded to the throne without the leaſt oppoſition. Soon after his elevation to this dignity, the city of Dublin was beſieged by Aſculf, it's late prince, who had returned from the Orkneys with a conſiderable fleet; but the Engliſh governor repelled the aſſailants with great valor, and having taken Aſculf priſoner, ordered him to be beheaded for the menacing inſolence, or rather the intrepid magnanimity, of his behaviour. This unſucceſsful aſſault was quickly followed by another ſiege of that city, conducted by Godred, king of Man and the Hebrides, in concert with ſome of the Iriſh princes.

14. Girald. Hib. Exp. lib. i.

The

A. D. 1171. The ſiege being converted into a blockade, the inhabitants were reduced to a great ſcarcity of ſuſtenance, when, on the receipt of intelligence from Fitz-Stephen, importing that he was cloſely beſieged in a fort near Wexford by an army of Eaſterlings and Iriſh, whom he could not long withſtand, a council of war was called in Dublin by the earl of Pembroke, in which it was agreed to make a ſudden and vigorous ſally upon the enemy, that, in caſe of ſucceſs, opportune relief might be afforded to the diſtreſſed Fitz-Stephen. Though the troops that blockaded Dublin amounted, it is ſaid, to 30,000 men, chiefly Iriſh, the gallant Strongbow, at an early hour of the day, ſurpriſed them by a bold eruption from the town, with a body of forces inferior in number to 1000. Theſe, however, being completely armed, accuſtomed to diſcipline, and actuated, at the preſent criſis, by a deſperate fury, ſtruck ſuch a panic into the Iriſh, who were very imperfectly armed, ignorant of the military art, and impatient of martial ſubordination and regularity, that a ſignal victory attended the diſtinguiſhed proweſs of the Engliſh adventurers. The quarters of Roderic were firſt aſſaulted, at a time when that monarch, unſuſpicious of an attack, was enjoying the recreation of bathing. His troops fled at the firſt onſet of the enemy; and he himſelf did not eſcape without great difficulty. The other bodies of the Iriſh confederate army, impreſſed with the ſame terror which had occaſioned the flight of Roderic's diviſion, hardly made the leaſt reſiſtance before they commenced a haſty retreat. The forces of the king of Man, diſpirited at the defeat of their allies, took refuge in their ſhips, and bore away from the Iriſh coaſt. The loſs of the beſiegers, on this occaſion, amounted to near 1500 men; while only one individual

individual is said to have been slain on the side of the victors [15]. A.D. 1171.

The earl of Pembroke now marched to the relief of Fitz-Stephen; but, when he approached Wexford, he received the unpleasing information of the captivity of that nobleman, who, deluded by a gross perjury of the bishops of Wexford and Kildare, had surrendered his fort to the besiegers, and, after seeing some of his men slaughtered, and the rest led away to close confinement, had been himself fettered and imprisoned. The oath which had been taken to deceive him, purported, that Roderic had made himself master of Dublin, had slain the earl of Pembroke and all the English by whom it was garrisoned, and was advancing with his victorious troops to complete the extermination of the foreigners. Strongbow would have chastised the authors of this fraud and their accomplices, had he not been deterred from the attempt by a declaration from the citizens of Wexford, that they would send him the heads of all the English prisoners, if he should venture to attack them. In consequence of this notice, the earl turned off towards Waterford; and there he met with a messenger whom he had dispatched to Henry after the return of Raymond. Being informed by this second envoy, that the king wished to see him in England, he passed over into Gloucestershire, and had an interview with Henry at Newnham. By his respectful and accommodating behaviour, he reconciled himself to his offended sovereign, to whom he renewed his homage and fealty. He resigned to the king the city of Dublin, and every other town and district which he had acquired by his Irish enterprise; and Henry, though he retained the seaport towns and castles, restored to the earl not only

15. MS. in the library of Lambeth, quoted by lord Lyttelton.—Girald. Hib. Exp. lib. i. cap. 21, &c.

his

A. D. 1171. his eſtates in England and Wales, but alſo whatever he poſſeſſed of the province of Leinſter, which he engaged to hold in fief of the Engliſh crown [16].

Having determined on a ſpeedy voyage to Ireland in perſon, Henry had commanded the equipment of a numerous fleet, in which he embarked an army ſufficient to awe the undiſciplined Iriſh into ſubmiſſion. As he paſſed through the ſouthern counties of Wales to the place of embarkation, he took meaſures for eſtabliſhing the peace of the principality; and ſetting ſail, Oct. 16. in the autumn, from Milford Haven, he landed the next day in perfect ſafety, in the neighbourhood of Waterford [17].

In the abſence of the earl of Pembroke, Dublin ſuſtained a fierce aſſault from O'Ruark, from which, however, it was ſoon relieved by the active bravery of Milo de Cogan, the governor, who ſallied out with a ſmall force, and routed the beſiegers with ſuch ſlaughter as contributed to augment the terror of the Engliſh arms, and prepare the Iriſh for that general ſubmiſſion with which they gratified Henry during his ſhort continuance in their iſland. His ſubject, Fitz-Stephen, was preſented to him in chains, ſoon after his landing, by the citizens of Wexford; and, that he might appear rather as the friend than the enemy of the Iriſh, he affected to reprimand that nobleman for having invaded the iſland, and ordered that he ſhould be kept in ſtrict cuſtody in the tower of Waterford. Before he left that city, he received the homage of ſeveral of the petty princes of the ſouth of Ireland; and, in his progreſs to Liſmore and Caſhel, he increaſed, by the reputation of his power, the number of vaſſal chiefs. On his arrival in Dublin, he was welcomed with the acclamations of the citizens; and the *reguli* of the mid-

16. Girald.—Gul. Neubrig. 17. Benedict. Abb.—Hoved.

dle parts of Ireland, among whom was O'Ruark, flocked to his court with humble acknowledgments of his ſuperiority. Some of the northern chieftains gradually honored him with the like ſubmiſſions; but the king of Ulſter was unwilling to ſubject himſelf to the dominion of a foreign potentate, though moſt of the ſubordinate chiefs of that province bowed their heads to the invader. Roderic, the Hibernian paramount, diſdained, for ſome time, to imitate his obſequious countrymen; but, reflecting on the inutility of reſiſting the torrent, which ran ſo ſtrongly in favor of the Engliſh yoke, he conſented to an interview with Hugh de Lacey and William Fitz-Aldelm, who had been commiſſioned by Henry to treat with him. Theſe noblemen received his homage in the name of their ſovereign, and ſettled the annual tribute which he was required to pay to the crown of England [18]. A. D. 1171.

Henry continued ſome months at Dublin, where he entertained his Iriſh viſitants with great magnificence, behaved to them with diſtinguiſhed politeneſs, and rewarded them with liberal preſents for their acceptance of his yoke. Having procured the recognition of his ſovereignty from the prelates of Ireland, (of whom, notwithſtanding the imperfect ſtate of civiliſation in that country, there was a conſiderable number, with four metropolitans at their head), he ordered a national convocation to be holden at Caſhel, for the reform of abuſes, and the improvement of religious diſcipline [19]. A. D. 1172. Before his departure from Ireland, he held a general council, in which he propoſed that the laws of England ſhould be adopted throughout his new dominions; and the whole aſſembly readily concurred with his wiſh, promiſing, on oath, to obſerve thoſe inſtitutions [20].

18. Girald lib. i. 19. Girald. lib. i.—Hoved. p. 302.
20. Matth. Par. p. 121.

The

A. D. 1172. The information which he received about the end of the winter, that the cardinals Albert and Theodine had been expecting him in Normandy till their patience was exhauſted, and that they threatened, in caſe of any longer delay of his appearance before them, to fulminate an interdict againſt his dominions, induced him to accelerate his return, before he had completed the conqueſt of Ireland in that effectual manner to which his inclinations pointed. Unwilling to leave too much power in the hands of earl Strongbow, whom he had confirmed in the lordſhip of Leinſter, he endeavoured to balance that nobleman's influence by the aggrandiſement of other barons. With this view, he conferred on Hugh de Lacey the province of Meath, as a fief of the Engliſh crown, and inveſted him with the high office of juſticiary of Ireland (equivalent, in the king's abſence, to that of regent), as well as with the government of Dublin. Over the other ſea-ports he placed ſeparate governors, whom he directed to build ſtrong fortreſſes in their reſpective towns. In the various diſtricts which had been ſurrendered ſince his arrival, he left the princes and heads of clans in poſſeſſion of their former demeſnes, in conſideration of the tributary acknowledgment to which they had bound themſelves. When he had made ſuch other arrangements and regulations as his policy ſuggeſted to him, he prepared for his departure; and, his army having been ſent back before him, he ſailed at Eaſter from the harbour of Wexford, diſembarked in South-Wales, journeyed with great celerity to Portſmouth, and thence paſſed over into Normandy, accompanied by the king his ſon. He there commenced a negotiation with the cardinal legates, and recovered the favor of the pope by agreeing to thoſe conditions of reconciliation which we have ſtated near the cloſe of the preceding

ceding chapter. When he and his ſon had ſworn to the different articles, and the name and ſeal of the father had been affixed to the inſtrument, he was abſolved by the two cardinals from all the guilt which he might have contracted by having indirectly occaſioned the maſſacre of Becket; and the pontiff, deſirous of gratifying the monarch by an additional favor from that ſee to which he had originally applied for the permiſſion of annexing Ireland to his dominion, granted him a bull, confirming the ſovereignty of that iſland to him and his heirs [21]. A. D. 1172.

The legates now mediated a reconciliation between Henry and the king of France, who ſtipulated that the diſreſpect offered to his daughter Margaret in the omiſſion of her coronation, ſhould be atoned by her being immediately crowned with her huſband, to whom that ceremony ſhould on her account be renewed. That princeſs and young Henry were therefore ſent over to England, where they were crowned at Wincheſter with the accuſtomed ſolemnities, the archbiſhop of Rouen, at the deſire of Lewis, officiating on the occaſion. Before the expiration of the year, the French king invited his daughter and her royal conſort to his court, on pretence of affectionate motives, but, in reality, with intentions not the moſt friendly to the ſenior king of England [22].

The premature coronation of young Henry, by giving a *ſtimulus* to a mind naturally ambitious, had excited in him an eager deſire of uncontrolled dominion. Impatient and vain-glorious, he diſdained the trammels of paternal authority; and being led, by his openneſs to flattery, to imbibe with avidity the inſinuations of intereſted courtiers, he pretended to believe, that,

21. Hoved. p. 302, 303. 22. Benedict. Abb.—Hoved. Ann.

A. D. 1172. when his father had consented to his assumption of the title and ensigns of royalty, he had in fact divested himself of his sovereign power; though the fallacy of such a doctrine was evident to the most superficial observer, the king's aim having merely been to secure his son's succession, not to grant him a greater degree of authority than had been given on similar occasions in France, where this practice had been frequently adopted, and where the junior king had been always considered as subordinate to the father.

The king of France observed, with pleasure, the credulous frankness, the immoderate ambition, the weak judgment, and the unbounded prodigality, of the young prince; and his rancorous jealousy of the elder Henry prompted him to make the son the unnatural instrument of disturbing the peace of a fond parent, and injuring the prosperity of his dominions; a prosperity which seemed to be established on a firm basis, and which therefore aroused all the envy of Lewis. For, by his wisdom and ability, Henry had now brought all his territories into a most flourishing state, and had aggrandised himself and his offspring with such success, as promised a continuance of greatness, honor, and reputation. Lewis resolved to exert his malignant efforts for blighting this prospect, and embroiling the family of his rival. He poured into the ear of the young king the most pernicious counsels, inflaming his ambition with artful suggestions, and prompting him to erect against his father the standard of rebellion. When the youth returned into Normandy from his visit to the court of Paris, he demanded of Henry the immediate resignation of England, of the duchy, or of Anjou and it's dependencies. This requisition, which his insidious father-in-law had advised him to make, met with an unambiguous refusal [23].

23. Benedict. Abb.—Hoved.

Inspired

Inſpired with the hopes of a new acceſſion of territory, Henry had negotiated a treaty of marriage for his ſon John, with Adelais, the eldeſt daughter of Humbert, count of Maurienne and Savoy, who engaged, if he ſhould die without male iſſue, to bequeath all his territories to the princeſs, and, even if he ſhould have a ſon, to aſſign to her a conſiderable portion of country. The two Henries repairing to Mont-Ferrand, in Lower Auvergne, the elder had a conference with Humbert on the propoſed match; and the preliminaries were ſoon arranged between them. An ambaſſy afterwards came from the count to the king of England, to ratify the convention; and that monarch, ſtill accompanied by his eldeſt ſon, over whom he found it neceſſary to keep a vigilant eye, proceeded to Limoges, where Raymond of Toulouſe did homage to both for that county, and agreed to pay an annual tribute. They then had another interview with Humbert, who demanding ſome proviſion for the deſtined huſband of his daughter, Henry expreſſed his intention of aſſigning to prince John three caſtles on the continent; but the young king obſtinately refuſed his conſent to this trivial defalcation from the inheritance to which he had been appointed to ſucceed. Juſtly enraged at the contumacy of his ſon, Henry removed from that prince's houſehold thoſe whom he ſuſpected of having given him ſiniſter advice, and ſubſtituted others, in whoſe integrity he had reaſon to confide. The refractory youth now reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of eſcaping from his father's court to that of the French king. In his return from Limoges with his royal parent, he quitted the court at night, and, though purſued by Henry, accompliſhed his eſcape to Chartres, where Lewis received him with demonſtrations of great ſatisfaction. Foreſeeing a new rupture with his old enemy,

A. D. 1172.

A. D. 1173.

A. D. 1173. Henry visited his principal towns and castles near the frontiers of the French dominions, ordered the immediate reparation of those fortresses which required it, and the supply of all with a copious portion of military stores [24].

The young king was followed in his flight by many of the continental barons, who were influenced to a desertion of the father by the interested hopes of deriving abundant benefit from the lavish donations of the inconsiderate son. Henry's revocation of the numerous grants which had been conferred out of the ducal demesnes of Normandy, during the contest for that territory between Geoffrey Plantagenet and king Stephen, had disgusted those who had suffered by such resumption; and many of these individuals now joined the party of the junior king, from whom they expected to recover the estates which his prudent and œconomical father had re-annexed to his demesne lands. Among the Breton nobility, there had long been a considerable faction in favor of Eudo; and though Henry had been successful in quelling the insurrections excited by that nobleman, he and his partisans were still ready to embrace every fresh occasion of revolt. The nobles of Aquitaine had never distinguished themselves by an implicit obedience to Henry, whose government was too strict to be favorable to their aristocratical views. Hence the most factious of these barons readily joined in the rebellious schemes of young Henry, to whom they were encouraged to transfer their interest by queen Eleanor herself. This princess, for whom her husband seems never to have had a violent passion, had perceived, in his deportment towards her, an indifference which her pride could ill brook; and her resentment of his coldness had been

24. Benedict. Abb. tom. i.—Chron. Vascon.—Triveti Chron.

increased

increaſed by the report of his caſual amours. Perhaps, he may have alſo offended her by allowing her too unimportant a ſhare in the adminiſtration even of her own hereditary duchy. Fired with the rage of a ſlighted female, ſhe ſtimulated her eldeſt ſon to the proſecution of his unnatural deſigns, and embarked Richard and Geoffrey, whom the king had lately left with her in Aquitaine, in the ſame ſchemes of ingratitude and rebellion. Theſe two princes, the former of whom had not completed the ſixteenth year of his age, while the latter was younger by a twelvemonth, were delivered by Eleanor to the care of their eldeſt brother, who, having privately gone to the ſouthward of the Loire to ſeduce them into his ſervice, conducted them to the French court, which was the aſylum of all the enemies of the king of England [25]. A. D. 1173.

The queen's intrigues being detected, the archbiſhop of Rouen, at Henry's deſire, wrote to her an epiſtle of reproof, in which he menaced her with excommunication, if ſhe ſhould not inſtantly return to her duty and allegiance. Regardleſs of this intimation, ſhe perſiſted in her ſeditious views, and, aſſuming the diſguiſe of the oppoſite ſex, ſet out for the court of Lewis, her former huſband, with whom, as the protector of her ſons, ſhe wiſhed to act in concert. But her future arts were anticipated by the vigilance of Henry's officers, who ſeiſed her on her journey, and ſubjected her, by the king's order, to a cloſe impriſonment [26].

On the flight of the young king, Henry had ſent ambaſſadors to Lewis, demanding the ſurrender of his fugitive ſon, and even offering to ſubmit the youth's pretenſions to that monarch's arbitration. The depu-

25. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.—Hoved. Ann.—Matth. Par.

26. Chron. Gervaſ. col 1424.

A. D. 1173. ties were received with inſult and diſdain, Lewis pretending that their maſter, by crowning his ſon, had abdicated his throne in that prince's favor, and was no longer to be regarded as king of England [27]. He aſſirmed, that, before young Henry's arrival at Chartres, he had intended to make war againſt the father, whom he accuſed of having violated his treaties with France, and of having acted towards him with duplicity and fraud; a charge more imputable to Lewis himſelf than to Henry.

The French king now engaged openly in the deſign not only of dethroning his rival, and transferring the ſovereignty of England, Normandy, and Anjou, to that prince's ſon, but of obtaining the complete ceſſion of the duchies of Aquitaine and Bretagne to Richard and Geoffrey. A grand confederacy was quickly formed by the efforts of Lewis and his ſon-in-law. The earl of Boulogne, though a ſtipendiary of the king of England, was induced to become a party in the league againſt him, in conſideration of a promiſe from young Henry of the earldom of Mortagne, as well as of ſome Engliſh lands: his brother, the earl of Flanders, was tempted to engage himſelf as an ally, by the offer of the county of Kent, and of a handſome penſion: the earl of Blois willingly joined in this iniquitous combination, after ſtipulating for an annuity from the revenues of Anjou, and the ceſſion of Amboiſe and other diſtricts in Touraine; the king of Scotland (William the Lion) received, for his promiſed aid, a grant of the county of Northumberland for himſelf, and procured the addition of the earldom of Cambridge to that of Huntingdon, which his brother David already poſſeſſed; and many other eventual grants, to which the young king ſwore, and which he

27. Gul. Neubrig.—Walt. Hemingf.

con-

confirmed by the ſanction of a great ſeal made for his uſe by order of Lewis, were diſtributed with wild profuſion among the barons of England and the continent [28]. A. D. 1173.

Though Henry was thus aſſailed by a tremendous league, which ſeemed pregnant with ruinous conſequences, he was not forſaken by his courage or his fortitude. He was anxious to prevent an eruption of the flames of war; but, as the impatient ſpirit of his ſons, the enmity of Lewis, and the intereſted views of the allies, rendered it impoſſible to be avoided, he reſolved to oppoſe his numerous enemies with vigor and diſpatch. The ſtrength of the alliance againſt him promoted the defection even of ſuch as he had ſuppoſed to be his friends, who, deeming his ruin inevitable, were induced by the deſire of ſafety to revolt to his ſons. Amidſt a deſertion ſo general and alarming, he was driven by the neceſſity of his affairs to the adoption of a meaſure which, in other circumſtances, he would have diſdained. He took into his ſervice 20,000 mercenary ſoldiers [29], of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe who had been employed by the late king, and whom the preſent monarch, on his acceſſion, had baniſhed from the realm. Theſe freebooters, though they conſiſted of adventurers from many of the European ſtates, were frequently called *Brabançons*, becauſe their moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders were natives of Brabant. To aid the operations of a military force, the king had recourſe to the efficacy of ſpiritual weapons, and ſolicited the pope to publiſh a bull for the excommunication of his rebellious ſons and all their partiſans; but Alexander was too much under the influence of the French monarch, who had always been his warmeſt friend, to

28. Benedict. Abb. tom. i.—Chron. Brompt et Gervaſ.

29. Hoved. p. 305.

A. D. 1173. promulgate any other ſentence than one of ſo general and indiſtinct a nature as to be unproductive of any real ſervice to the cauſe of Henry.

Lewis was ſo determined on a vigorous war, that he made extraordinary preparations for the approaching campaign. But, before he commenced hoſtilities, the earls of Flanders and Boulogne entered Normandy on the north-eaſt ſide, and formed the ſiege of Albemarle, of which they ſpeedily became maſters; for the earl who derived his title from that town, acting colluſively with the beſiegers, ſurrendered himſelf as a priſoner of war, and, under the pretext of ranſom, delivered up all his caſtles for the uſe of young Henry. The reduction of Albemarle was followed by that of Neufchatel, as well as of Driencourt; but, at the ſiege of the laſt-mentioned fortreſs, the earl of Boulogne was mortally wounded. This accident affected the earl of Flanders with ſenſible emotion; and his conſcience began to reproach him with ingratitude and impiety for contending, in behalf of an unworthy ſon, againſt a prince to whom both himſelf and his deceaſed brother were bound as well by the ties of conſanguinity as by the obligations of favor. Influenced by theſe ſerious reflexions, he retired with his army into his own territories [30].

In the mean time, the king of France, accompanied by young Henry, invaded the Norman duchy on the ſide of Perche, and beſieged the ſtrong town of Verneuil, which he reduced to ſuch an extremity as to alarm the Engliſh monarch, who had kept himſelf quiet for ſome time at Rouen, in expectation of an opportunity of acting in ſo efficacious a manner as to enſure ſucceſs. Being of opinion, that ſuch an occaſion now offered itſelf, he marched out of that capital at

30. Gul. Neubrig.—Hoved. Ann.

the

the head of 10,000 of his Brabançons, ſtrengthened by a veteran corps of Normans. He ſent a meſſage to Lewis, requiring him to deſiſt from the ſiege in which he was engaged; but his demand was treated with deriſion, and his declared intention of giving battle to the French was conſidered as a mere bravado. Finding, however, that Henry was reſolved on an engagement, Lewis diſpatched the archbiſhop of Sens, and two laymen of high rank, to propoſe a pacific conference for the next day. The king of England, though his troops were eager for battle, conſented to a day's truce; but, on the appointed morning, neither Lewis, nor any perſon on his behalf, appeared. A cloud of ſmoke was ſoon diſcerned riſing from one of the three burghs into which Verneuil was divided; a circumſtance which convinced Henry of the perfidy of his rival. This prince had concluded a convention with the inhabitants of the great burgh, purporting that, if they ſhould not be relieved within three days, they ſhould then ſurrender to the French, who would reſtore the hoſtages delivered by them, and would do no injury to any of the burgeſſes either in their perſons or property. By the truce into which he had drawn Henry, he prevented the relief of the burgh on the third day; and though the ſuſpenſion of arms precluded him, in juſtice, from demanding the ſurrender of it at that time, he took advantage of the truce to enforce the ſubmiſſion of the burgeſſes, who knew not the reaſon which produced a delay of relief; and when the burgh had been yielded, he groſsly violated his engagements by detaining the hoſtages, carrying off the burghers as priſoners, ſeiſing their property, and ſetting fire to their habitations. After this exploit, he retreated within his own frontiers; but his rear ſuffered from the attacks of ſome ſquadrons of light-armed

A. D. 1173.

Aug. 9.

cavalry

A. D. 1173. cavalry detached in purſuit by Henry, who, entering Verneuil, commanded the walls of the great burgh to be rebuilt. The French army now mouldering away by the feceſſion of the barons with their vaſſals, on the expiration of their forty days of ſervice, Henry marched towards Rouen, and, in his way, reduced the fortreſs of a Norman rebel [31].

Bretagne being expoſed to danger from the arms of Ralph de Fougeres and the earl of Cheſter, who had gained poſſeſſion of Dol and other fortified towns in that duchy, Henry ſent a ſtrong body of Brabançons to act againſt his enemies in this quarter. Theſe active troops ſurpriſed Ralph and his followers, and compelled them to make ſo haſty a retreat, that all their horſes and baggage, forming a very conſiderable booty, fell into the hands of the mercenaries. A pitched battle took place ſoon after near Dol, in which 1500 of
Aug. 20. the rebels were ſlain. The vanquiſhed fled to the citadel of Dol, where they were immediately beſieged by the victorious Brabançons. The news of this ſucceſs induced Henry to haſten into Bretagne, that he might put an end to the revolt of the duchy by the capture of the rebel chiefs. He aſſaulted the fortreſs of Dol with ſuch vigor, that it ſurrendered in a few days, on ſtipulations of ſafety to the lives and limbs of the garriſon. The earl of Cheſter, Ralph de Fougeres, and near a hundred other barons and knights, chiefly of Bretagne, were taken priſoners on this occaſion. This blow not only terrified the revolted Bretons into ſubmiſſion, but contributed to diminiſh the number of Henry's enemies in other parts of his foreign dominions [32].

The earl of Leiceſter, a powerful baron, ſon of the late juſticiary, had been one of the moſt active promoters

31. Benedict. Abb. tom. i.—Hoved. p. 306.—Brompt. Chron.
32. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. Benedict. Abb.

of

of the rebellion againſt Henry, who therefore gave orders for the confiſcation of his eſtates both in England and Normandy. The earl's Engliſh vaſſals ſuſtained a ſiege at Leiceſter againſt the royaliſts; but they were at length obliged to ſurrender. In the mean while, the Scots, commanded by their ſovereign in perſon, invaded Cumberland, and laid ſiege to Carliſle; but not ſucceeding in their attempts againſt that city, they paſſed into Yorkſhire, which they ravaged with remorſeleſs barbarity [33]. In retaliation of theſe inroads, ſome of Henry's nobility advanced to Berwick, burned the town, and extended their devaſtations over a great part of Lothian [34]. A. D. 1173.

By the mediation of the papal legates in France, a conference was agreed on between Henry and Lewis, Sept. 25. in whoſe train appeared the young king and the princes Richard and Geoffrey. The Engliſh monarch, anxious for the reſtoration of peace, made very liberal offers to his ſons. He propoſed that the eldeſt ſhould have a moiety of the revenues ariſing from the royal demeſnes in England, with four caſtles in that kingdom; or, if the prince ſhould prefer a reſidence in Normandy, half of the ducal income of that territory, and the whole revenue of Anjou, with the poſſeſſion of ſeveral fortreſſes. To Richard he agreed to reſign half of the revenues of Aquitaine; and, to Geoffrey, the whole duchy of Bretagne. He even declared, that, if the legates ſhould deem a more ample proviſion requiſite for the young princes, he would ſubmit to their advice in the arrangement of this buſineſs. But, as he expreſſed his firm reſolution of reſerving to himſelf, in all his ceſſions, the adminiſtration of juſtice and other privileges of ſovereignty, his propoſitions were not agreeable to the inclinations of the French king, who wiſhed him to relinquiſh all con-

33. Dicet.—Benedict. Abb. 34. Gul. Neubrig.—Matth. Par.

cern

A. D. 1173. cern in the government of the greater part of his continental dominions, that his overgrown power might be contracted. The influence of Lewis operating ſtrongly on the rebellious princes, they rejected their father's propoſals. The earl of Leiceſter, who attended this meeting, behaved in the moſt indecorous manner to his ſovereign, whom he reviled with great virulence of expreſſion, and whoſe perſon he even threatened to ſtrike. Putting his hand to his ſword for that diſloyal purpoſe, he was checked by the nobles who ſtood near him; and the conference ended in diſappointment and animoſity [35]. On the following day, a party of French knights renewed the war by a ſkirmiſh with ſome of Henry's cavaliers, in which the advantage was gained by the latter.

An alarming invaſion now menaced England. The earl of Leiceſter, having levied a great army of Flemings and other foreigners, prepared to croſs the channel, that he might co-operate with the Engliſh malecontents. Landing on the eaſtern coaſt, he was joined by Hugh earl of Norfolk; and theſe turbulent noblemen proceeded to attack the forts which were garriſoned by Henry's adherents. Richard de Lucy, and other barons who had been employed in the expedition to Lothian, were no ſooner informed of the debarkation of a foreign army, than they concluded a truce for ſome months with the Scots, who were wholly ignorant of the invaſion of the earl of Leiceſter, with whom they would have been glad to act in concert. The royaliſts then marched againſt the earl, whom they met in the vicinity of St. Edmund's-bury, after he had ſeparated from earl Hugh. A battle enſuing, the
Oct. king's forces obtained a complete victory, with the ſlaughter of a great number of Flemings. The earl of

35 Benedict. Abb. tom. i.—Hoved. p. 306.

Leiceſter

Leiceſter and his counteſs, Hugh de Chaſtel, a French nobleman, and other perſons of diſtinction, were taken priſoners, and ſent over to the king in Normandy [36]. A. D. 1173.

Though the captivity of one of the moſt determined enemies of Henry could not but give great ſatisfaction to that monarch, it contributed little to the dejection of the rebels of England, who prepared for further efforts againſt the royaliſts. At the ſame time, the revolters of Anjou and Touraine ſtill maintained a firm front of oppoſition; but Henry, before the cloſe of the year, marched againſt the principal of them, and reduced their caſtles with rapidity. He then agreed to a truce with France till the ſucceeding Eaſter; while Richard de Lucy, as regent of England, procured, by a pecuniary preſent, a prolongation of the truce with the Scottiſh king to the ſame period [37].

The following campaign promiſed unuſual exertions, the confederates employing all their influence in ſtrengthening the league, and Henry deviſing, with more juſtifiable policy, the means of his own defence and preſervation. Immediately after Eaſter, the king of Scotland invaded the northern counties of England, where the licentious Gallovidians, who conſtituted a great part of his army, rioted in all the fury of devaſtation. Being reinforced by a body of troops from Flanders, he formed the blockade of Carliſle, and reduced ſome of the northern fortreſſes. To aid the rebels in the midland parts of the realm, he detached a ſtrong corps, under the command of his brother David, earl of Huntingdon, who marched into the ſhire of Leiceſter, where the vaſſals of the captive earl were ſtill in arms. Robert earl of Derby appeared in arms A. D. 1174.

36. Benedict. Abb. tom. i. p. 70.—Gul. Neubrig lib. ii.

37. Hoved. p. 307.—Benedict. Abb.

in

A. D. 1174. in the neighbourhood of his own lands; Roger de Mowbray fortified himſelf in the counties of Lincoln and York againſt the royaliſts; the earl of Norfolk prepared to renew his efforts with the aid of a freſh ſhoal of Flemings; and other noblemen, won by the promiſes which young Henry had lately made to them by his agents, were ready to riſe on the earlieſt opportunity [38].

The earl of Flanders, having ſuffered his late remorſe to give way to his deſire of poſſeſſing the valuable province of Kent, concerted an invaſion of England with the young king. To promote the ſucceſs of this attempt, by the detention of the ſenior king on the continent, the French monarch reſolved to invade Normandy with all the force which he could collect either in his own kingdom, or in the adjacent territories. Henry, thus threatened on both ſides of the channel, was at firſt perplexed with an uncertainty of deciſion. His preſence ſeemed to be neceſſary in England, to prevent the defection which might be expected in that realm, on the appearance of his ſon and the earl of Flanders with ſuch a force as would not only encourage and fix the wavering, but might terrify even the loyal adherents of the father into ſubmiſſion. On the other hand, he was unwilling to leave his Gallic dominions at the mercy of Lewis, who, if not oppoſed by his perſonal endeavours, and the animating influence of his example, might over-run the Norman duchy, and extend his conqueſts with eaſe and celerity. Having made an expedition into Aquitaine, the defence of which he entruſted to a regency of ſix noblemen, he returned into Normandy, where he held a council to deliberate on the emergency of his affairs. Richard of Ilcheſter, lately appointed biſhop of Wincheſter, laid

38. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.—Dicet. Imag. Hiſt.

before his ſovereign, at this meeting, the dangerous predicament in which England now ſtood, haraſſed by the inſurrections of her own ſons, as well as by the barbarous inroads of the Scots, and menaced with a powerful invaſion from the continent. After ſerious reflexion, Henry reſolved to repair to England, that his preſence might prove an antidote to the venom of diſaffection, and prevent the dreaded conſequences of the arrival of his ſon, who was now waiting with his Flemiſh ally in the port of Gravelines. A fleet being equipped with great diſpatch, he mbarked at Barfleur, accompanied by his queen, his daughter-in-law queen Margaret (whom he had refuſed to deliver up to her huſband ſince his rebellion), and the principal of his captive nobility. He brought over with him into England a body of Brabançons, and as many other troops as the adequate defence of his foreign dominions would allow him to remove from them [39]. A.D. 1174.

Henry's landing was followed by a remarkable ſcene. The monkiſh partiſans of the late archbiſhop of Canterbury having related, to the wondering multitude, many miracles which, they pretended, had been wrought by his reliques, pope Alexander had thought proper to enrol him in the catalogue of ſaints and martyrs, about two years after his aſſaſſination, the anniverſary of which was ordered to be kept as a feſtival [40]. The fame

39. Hoved. p. 308.—Dicet. Imag. Hiſt.—Gul. Neubrig.

40. That the reader may not be ſurpriſed at the ſudden diſappearance of the murderers of Becket from the narrative, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that, as the conſtitutions of Clarendon were not yet enforced, the exemption claimed by the clergy from the civil judicature extended not only to eccleſiaſtics themſelves, but to thoſe laymen who were guilty of violence towards them. On this conſideration, Henry, though he was ſo much intereſted in the due puniſhment of the archbiſhop's murderers, forbore to give them up to ſecular juſtice, and left them to the operation of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. William of Newburgh, indeed, has

A. D. 1174. fame of the new St. Thomas had been diffuſed over the whole Chriſtian world: the humble devotee, oppreſſed with the burthen of his ſins, implored the ſaint's interceſſion with Heaven: pilgrimages were made to his tomb, and oblations were preſented on the altar near which his remains had been depoſited. Henry well knew the temper of the times, and conceived that ſome acts of ſubmiſſion from him to the memory of a ſaint who was ſo popular among his ſubjects, would enhance the reputation of his piety, and contribute to the diſſolution of the rebellious faction, by deluding the public into an idea that the ſpirit of Becket, moved by his humiliation, had become his mediator with the Omnipotent, and that it would therefore be a proof of impiety to continue to oppoſe a prince who was under the particular protection of Heaven. Inſpired with theſe ſentiments, he haſtened from Southampton, the place of his late debarkation, to Canterbury; and, as ſoon as the cathedral of that city appeared in diſtant proſpect, he alighted from his
July 12. horſe, and walked barefoot towards it, with a countenance expreſſive of humility and devotion. Entering the church, he proſtrated himſelf before the tomb of the archbiſhop, and was for ſome time engaged in

has ſtated the king's forbearance on a ſomewhat different ground, as ariſing from an idea, that, if he ſhould puniſh thoſe aſſaſſins, for a crime which they had committed in conſequence of his ſuppoſed inſtigation, he ſhould be ſubjected to a double reproach, for having firſt ſtimulated them to the act, and then puniſhing them for their obedience to what they conſidered as his will. With reſpect to the ſubſequent proceedings of the four knights, it appears, that, when they had continued at Knareſborough for a twelvemonth after the murder, they repaired, at the king's deſire, to the court of Rome, where they ſubmitted to the injunctions of the pope, who ordered them to make a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem by way of penance for their crime. The report of the premature death of theſe knights in the Holy Land, is evidently a monkiſh invention.

prayer. He then, by the mouth of the biſhop of London, ſolemnly declared his innocence of the murder of Becket; but was anxious to make ſome atonement for the raſh exclamations which had influenced the aſſaſſins to commit that execrable deed. At his own deſire, he was ſcourged on his naked back by every one of the eccleſiaſtic then preſent, who were very numerous. He paſſed the enſuing night before the ſepulchre, in prayer, abſtinence, and lamentation, and receiving abſolution in the morning, granted to the chapter of Canterbury an annuity of forty pounds for defraying the expence of lighted tapers at the tomb of the new ſaint [41]. Having thus appealed to the ſuperſtition of the people, he ſet out for his metropolis, where the fatigues of his penance were relieved by the repoſe of a few days. A. D. 1174.

Before he had commenced any warlike operations againſt the rebels in England, he was rouſed from his ſleep, at midnight, by a meſſenger whoſe importunity had procured his admiſſion into the royal chamber. The courier informing him that he had brought joyful news from Ralph de Glanville, the king inquired into the circumſtances, and was anſwered that Glanville at that moment held the king of Scotland a priſoner at Richmond. Henry, rejoiced at this unexpected intelligence, inſtantly roſe, and thanked Heaven with tears of exultation.

The particulars of the victory over the Scottiſh invaders, and of the capture of their king, are thus related by the hiſtorians of thoſe times. William, after ſome fortunate and ſome unſucceſsful attempts on Engliſh caſtles, had been induced, by a report of the approach of Geoffrey biſhop of Lincoln (a natural ſon of Henry), at the head of a gallant army of provincials,

41. Dicet. ad ann. 1174. — Hoved. p. 308. — Matth. Par. p. 122, 123.

A. D. 1174. to retreat to the northward from the fort of Prudhow on the Tyne, which he had beſieged in vain. Alnwick then became the object of his efforts; and, while his regular troops blockaded the place, his Gallovidians were employed in ravaging the eaſtern ſide of Northumberland. He, at length, detached almoſt the whole of his army to plunder the neighbouring country, and diffuſe around the terror of the Scottiſh arms. The northern nobility were alarmed and incenſed at the ferocious devaſtations of William's troops, whom, however, they could not muſter a ſufficient force to attack. But hearing that the king himſelf was ill guarded, and ſo little expected an aſſault from the Engliſh, as to give a probability of ſucceſs to an attempt for ſurpriſing him, Ralph de Glanville, (who afterward acquired ſuch eminence in the ſtation of juſticiary), Robert d'Eſtouteville, and other barons of Yorkſhire, aſſembled a troop of knights, amounting to about 400; and, regardleſs of the danger of venturing, with ſo ſmall a force, into a part of the country filled with numerous though detached bodies of the enemy, whoſe whole force is ſaid to have been compoſed of 80,000 men, they advanced, with great privacy and ſpeed, towards Alnwick. On approaching the caſtle, they diſcerned the king of Scotland, who was amuſing himſelf with the ſports of chivalry in an adjacent plain. Seeing an armed troop, he ſuppoſed them to be ſome of his own cavalry, returning from a predatory excurſion; but a nearer view of the Engliſh banners convincing him of his error, he was aſtoniſhed at the heroic courage of his enterpriſing adverſaries. Truſting, however, to the ſpeedy return of ſome of his diſperſed parties, or perhaps ſeduced by a raſhneſs of courage into an opinion of the ſuperiority of himſelf and his attendant knights, whoſe number did not exceed eighty, over a much greater number

number of Engliſh, he ruſhed onward to the aſſault with enthuſiaſtic ardor. His horſe being killed under him at the firſt onſet, he fell into the hands of the enemy; and his captivity occaſioned the flight or ſurrender of all his knights. Some of his ſcattered ſoldiers, hearing of the arrival of the Engliſh, came up at this inſtant, and made no attempts to avoid a participation of their ſovereign's fate. The remainder of the Scottiſh army deſiſted from their depredations as ſoon as they gained intelligence of the king's misfortune, and haſtily retired within their own territories. Their retreat was attended with inteſtine diſcord, which produced much bloodſhed before it was appeaſed [42]. A. D. 1174.

It was obſerved by the public, that the defeat of the Scots happened on the ſame day on which Henry received abſolution at Canterbury. This coincidence gave riſe to an opinion among the votaries of ſuperſtition, in which number the majority of his ſubjects might be included, that his late ſubmiſſions to St. Thomas of England had procured, from the powerful mediation of that ſaint, his pardon from the Deity; and that the capture of his great enemy the Scottiſh king was the immediate fruit of the reſtored favor of Heaven. Henry, convinced that ſuch a notion would be beneficial to him, did not endeavour to repreſs it's influence. But, without the aid of religious motives, July 13.

42. Gul Neubrig. lib. ii.—Hoved. p. 308.—Benedict. Abb. tom. i.—Buchanan and other hiſtorians of Scotland affirm, that, when the Engliſh attacked the Scots on this occaſion, the truce between the two nations had not expired, the confidence of which occaſioned ſuch a degree of negligence in the conduct of William's forces, as gave ſucceſs to the arms of the Engliſh: but the cotemporary writers, who certainly deſerve more credit than ſuch as lived ſome centuries later, poſitively aſſert, that the firſt truce with the Scots expired at the feaſt of St. Hilary, and the ſecond at the Eaſter following; facts which remove from the Engliſh all ſuſpicion of treachery.

A. D. 1174. the captivity of a royal opponent would have operated in favor of the king of England; and, indeed, it gave a very ſeaſonable check to the rebels with whom William had co-operated, and effectually damped the hopes derived from the expected invaſion of the realm.

That due advantage might be taken of the preſent diſcouragement of the rebels, Henry marched againſt them with great celerity, at the head of a conſiderable army. The terror of his approach produced the ſucceſſive ſurrender of the fortreſſes of the revolted barons. The biſhop of Durham, a powerful and intriguing prelate, who had received from the continent, at the time of the victory over the Scots, a reinforcement of Flemings, with which he intended to have commenced immediate hoſtilities againſt his ſovereign, was now deſirous of imitating the example of the temporal nobility. Viſiting the king at Northampton, he yielded his caſtles into the royal hands, having before ſent back his Flemings to their own country, as ſoon as he had been informed of the capture of William the Lion [43].

Having, in a few weeks, preſerved his kingdom from imminent danger, by a total ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, Henry returned to the continent to oppoſe the attempts of the French monarch, who had inveſted the Norman capital with a numerous hoſt. To the Brabançons whom he had brought over to England in his laſt voyage, he now added a body of Welſh ſtipendiaries, conſiſting of 1000 men; and with this force Aug. 8. he landed in ſafety at Barfleur, accompanied by the king of Scotland, whom he confined in the citadel of Caen.

The young king and the earl of Flanders, when they found their intentions anticipated by the preſence

43. Benedict. Abb. tom. i.

of

of Henry in England, had felt an inclination to relinquiſh their project of an invaſion; and they were confirmed in this change of ſentiment by the news of the unfortunate *rencontre* at Alnwick. They therefore withdrew their forces from Gravelines, and formed a junction with Lewis before the walls of Rouen. The confederate army was now more numerous than any force which had appeared in this part of Europe for many years; but the number and valor of the beſiegers could not baffle the ſpirited and vigilant exertions of the garriſon and the citizens, who were unanimous in their attachment to Henry. Deſpairing of the ſucceſs of the ſiege, as the city was extremely well fortified, and the communication of the inhabitants with the country to the ſouthward was perfectly open, the earl of Flanders adviſed the king of France to have recourſe to artifice. A ſuſpenſion of arms being publicly proclaimed, by order of Lewis, in honor of St. Laurence's day, the defendants of Rouen indulged themſelves in a relaxation of their fatigues; while their enemies, deſirous of profiting by their ſecurity, concerted a ſudden aſſault. The clandeſtine ſchemes of the beſiegers were, however, rendered abortive by a diſcovery of their preparations, which being accidentally diſcerned by ſome prieſts from a tower that commanded a view of the hoſtile camp, they inſtantly rang the city-bell, which hung in that tower. The alarm being thus given, the ſoldiers, many of whom were diverting themſelves on the banks of the Seine, without the ſouthern gate, ran to their reſpective ſtations; and the citizens prepared to aſſiſt them with alacrity. The allies at the ſame time ruſhed forward to the aſſault, and the foremoſt ranks had even mounted the walls; but, being met by the exaſperated Normans, they were repulſed with much ſlaughter [44].

A. D. 1174.

44. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.—Brompt. Chron. col. 1096.

A. D. 1174. Lewis and the earl were greatly chagrined at the ill ſucceſs of this ſtratagem; and their uneaſineſs was augmented by the appearance of the king of England, who entered Rouen in triumph on the following day. Henry, to brave the enemy, ordered thoſe gates which had been walled up to be opened, and the trenches, for a conſiderable ſpace, to be filled up. To intercept the proviſions of the confederates, he ſent out his Welſh troops, who, meeting with a valuable convoy, routed the eſcorting cavalry, and diſtreſſed the foe by a ſeiſure of the whole ſupply. Reflecting on the danger of his ſituation, Lewis now reſolved to make his retreat, which he effected in good order, followed by the earl of Flanders [45].

Theſe two princes had become weary of a war in which their efforts had been attended with ſo little ſucceſs. They therefore reſolved, with the conſent of young Henry, whom their united perſuaſions had diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion, to treat with their potent antagoniſt; and, at their ſolicitation, a conference took place at Giſors. But, as young Richard, from an averſion to pacific meaſures, refuſed to attend the meeting, the conditions were not finally arranged. A truce, however, was agreed on till Michaelmas, from the benefit of which prince Richard was excluded, his father being left at full liberty to ſubdue that impetuous youth by arms. The march of the elder Henry into Aquitaine reduced the rebellious prince to the neceſſity of imploring pardon, which the king readily granted him. Richard then accompanied his father to the interview which was appointed for all parties at a village near Tours. At this conference, the
Sept. 30. king of England ſeems to have preſcribed the terms of peace, which were leſs favorable to his ſons than the offers which he had made to them in the preceding

45. Gul. Neubrig.—Walt. Hemingf.

year,

year. The conditions purported, that the princes Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, and all who had taken arms in ſupport of their pretenſions, ſhould be abſolved from all oaths and covenants by which they had reſpectively bound themſelves againſt the Engliſh monarch, and ſhould immediately return to the allegiance which they owed to that prince: that a general reſtitution of lands and caſtles, as they had ſtood for a fortnight before the rebellion, ſhould be made on both ſides: that no puniſhment ſhould be inflicted by either party on thoſe who had ſupported the oppoſite ſide: that an annuity of 15,000 Anjevin pounds (which were inferior in value to thoſe of England) ſhould be allowed to young Henry, with two caſtles in Normandy: that Richard ſhould enjoy a moiety of the revenues of Poictou, with two fortreſſes in that province: that Geoffrey ſhould, for the preſent, receive half of the income of Bretagne, and the whole on the completion of his marriage with the daughter of the late duke: that the king of Scotland, the earls of Cheſter and Leiceſter, and other priſoners of rank who had made a compoſition with the king of England before the peace, or with whom he wiſhed to make a ſeparate contract, ſhould not be included in this treaty; but that every other priſoner, on either ſide, ſhould be reſtored to liberty: that all the caſtles which had been built in the king's territories ſince the commencement of the war, ſhould be demoliſhed, and ſuch old fortreſſes as had been furniſhed with additional works ſhould be reduced to their former ſtate; and that the young king ſhould confirm all his father's grants. The king of France and the earl of Flanders were not named in this convention; but the article of mutual reſtitution was meant to extend to them; and the latter, in a ſubſequent meeting with the two Henries, received a formal A. D. 1174. A. D. 1175.

A. D. 1175. renewal of the ſubſidiary ſtipulations which the father had made with him before the war [46].

Henry not only adhered to his engagements with ſtrict punctuality, but, in thoſe points in which he had not bound himſelf, by the terms of the treaty, to acts of mercy or forbearance, he behaved with diſtinguiſhed clemency; for he even pardoned thoſe noblemen who, being excepted from the pacification, were wholly in his power, and who, from the rancor with which they had purſued their unoffending ſovereign, merited exemplary chaſtiſement, as diſturbers of the public peace. His ſons having made ample ſubmiſſions to him, and declared that they would never oppoſe his will in future, he indulged them with a proof of his reſtored confidence, by granting to the eldeſt a commiſſion for ſuperintending, in Normandy, the execution of that article which related to the demolition of the fortreſſes; to Richard, the like commiſſion in Aquitaine; and to Geoffrey, in Bretagne.

The poſſeſſion of the perſon of the Scottiſh king giving Henry an opportunity of exacting ſuch conditions from that prince as might bring his realm under the Engliſh yoke, he reſolved to make that ſubmiſſion the price of William's liberty. His ambitious views were promoted by the rebellion of the Galloway principality, which, on the king's captivity, had ſhaken off it's dependence on the crown of Scotland, and had ſupplicated the protection of Henry. The Scots, apprehenſive that the Engliſh monarch, in revenge of their late inroads into his territories, would co-operate with the Gallovidians againſt them, deemed it more prudent to reſign their national independency than to riſque a war with a formidable neighbour, at a time when their king was in his power, and their country

46. Benedict. Abb.—Hoved. Annal.

was

was haraſſed with inteſtine commotions. A deputation of the Scottiſh nobility having repaired to the continent, to conſult with their ſovereign on this head, they found him in the caſtle of Falaiſe; and, after ſome deliberation, they adviſed him to comply with Henry's demand of the vaſſalage of the kingdom of Scotland. In an interview between Henry and his royal priſoner, the latter engaged to hold his realm and all his other dominions in feudal ſubjection to the Engliſh crown, and agreed that his principal ſubjects, both eccleſiaſtical and temporal, ſhould, as well as himſelf, do homage and ſwear fealty to the king of England, and bind themſelves to make the ſame ſubmiſſions to the ſucceſſors of that monarch. William alſo ſtipulated to deliver into the poſſeſſion of Henry the fortreſſes of Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, (the expences of which were to be defrayed out of the Scottiſh treaſury), as ſecurities for the performance of this convention; and his brother the earl of Huntingdon, and twenty other noblemen, were ſurrendered by him as hoſtages for the delivery of the caſtles. This article being executed without delay, the king was reſtored to his liberty, and returned to Scotland with the releaſed hoſtages. In the following ſummer, after the two Henries had made a progreſs through various parts of England, inſpecting the demolition of the new-built caſtles of the late rebels, and putting the laws in force againſt delinquents, William and David, accompanied by a great number of their countrymen, appeared at York in compliance with the ſummons of their new lord. Here, in an aſſembly of the ſtates of the two realms, the convention of Falaiſe was confirmed; and all the Scots who were preſent, conſiſting of moſt of the earls, barons, knights, biſhops, and abbots, of North-Britain, followed the example of their

A. D. 1167.

Aug. 10.

A. D. 1175. their king and his brother, who performed the ceremonies of feudal vaſſals to Henry and his eldeſt ſon, and acknowledged thoſe princes and their heirs as liege lords of Scotland. William's ſubjects even ſwore, that, if he ſhould at any time violate the convention, they would ſupport the king of England againſt him; and the prelates engaged, on ſuch an event, to put his dominions under an interdict [47].

With reſpect to the Gallovidians, though Henry at firſt intended to take them under his immediate protection, he afterwards relinquiſhed that deſign, and ſuffered the king of Scotland to turn his arms againſt them. William found little difficulty in reducing thoſe barbarians to their former dependence on his crown: but they long continued a ferocious people, impatient of the reſtrictions of regular government.

Ab An. Dom. 1175 ad 1182. For ſeveral years ſubſequent to this period, England and the other territories of Henry enjoyed a great degree of tranquillity, except that Aquitaine was partially diſturbed by the occaſional inſurrections of the factious barons, whom, however, the valor and addreſs of prince Richard ſoon compelled to a ſubmiſſion. The king, in the mean time, was employed in the moſt judicious regulations of internal policy, in ſubſtituting order and ſecurity for the confuſions attendant on civil diſcord, in reforming abuſes with ſpirit and vigor, and diſpenſing juſtice with ſtrictneſs and impartiality. In a great council at Northampton, he divided this kingdom into ſix parts, for each of which he appointed three itinerant juſticiaries, who were to determine cauſes both civil and criminal, according to the aſſiſe of Clarendon, which the preſent aſſembly renewed with improvements. Though this was not, as ſome ſuppoſe, the firſt

47. Benedict Abb. tom. i.—Hoved. p. 311, 312.—Matth. Par. p. 136.—Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii.

appointment

appointment of itinerant judges in England, it ſeems to have been the firſt eſtabliſhment of them on a regular ſcale, and was well calculated to remedy the inconveniencies ariſing from the partiality and oppreſſion of the baronial and inferior courts. In another council, Henry contracted the ſix circuits into four, and appropriated to each a greater number of judges; namely, ſix to one of the diviſions, and five to each of the other three [48]. He encouraged the diſuſe of the different ordeals ſo frequent in the Anglo-Saxon times, though he did not formally aboliſh them; and, in their ſtead, he endeavoured to revive the practice of trials by jury, which, though introduced into England long before, had not hitherto been able to overcome the attachment of the Engliſh to the ordeals of fire and water, or that of the Normans to the trial by duel. He alleviated the rigor of the foreſt laws by exacting fines for every tranſgreſſion of them, in lieu of the mutilations ordained by the Conqueror for ſuch offences, and of the capital puniſhments denounced by the ſecond William againſt the deſtroyers of his game. By ſome of his laws, he repreſſed the tyranny of his nobles towards their vaſſals; and relieved many of the towns of his realm from their dependence on the neighbouring barons, by erecting them into free burghs, and granting them chartered privileges; a practice which gradually increaſed the importance of the commons. To prevent the ſeiſure of wrecks, he enacted, that, if any veſſel ſhould be wrecked on his coaſts, and one man or even a quadruped belonging to it ſhould eſcape with life, the remains of the ſhip and cargo ſhould be reſtored to the lawful proprietors, on condition of their aſſerting their claim within three months after the accident [49]. By theſe and other inſtitutions, he diſplay-

Ab An. Dom. 1175 ad 1182.

48. Benedict. et Hoved. ad ann. 1176 et 1179. 49. Rymeri Fœdera, tom. i.

ed

Ab An. Dom. 1175 ad 1182.

ed his judgment and humanity, and improved the general ſtate of his dominions.

To provide for the effectual defence of his kingdom, he publiſhed an *aſſiſe of arms*, in which it was ordained, that every perſon poſſeſſed of one or more knights' fees ſhould provide himſelf, for each fee, with a coat of mail, a helmet, a ſhield, and a lance; that every free layman who, in chattels or rent, had the value of ſixteen marks, ſhould arm himſelf in the ſame manner; that one who had only the value of ten marks ſhould have an habergeon and ſcull-cap of iron, and a lance; that all burgeſſes, and the whole community of freemen, ſhould have an iron cap, a lance, and a jacket quilted with wool, cotton, or tow; that thoſe who were thus obliged to furniſh themſelves with arms, ſhould never ſell, pawn, lend, or give them in payment of debt; that theſe arms ſhould be hereditary, and be uſed by a ſubſtitute, if the heir ſhould be under the proper age; and that whoever ſhould diſobey theſe injunctions, ſhould be puniſhed, not in his property, but in his limbs [50]. This ordinance introduced a more general arming of the people than had been known in the kingdom ſince the moſt flouriſhing times of the Anglo-Saxon government; and not only furniſhed an excellent defence againſt invaſion, but tended to protect the community both from royal and ariſtocratical oppreſſion.

In the peaceful interval which Henry enjoyed after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion of his ſons, he received occaſional uneaſineſs from the conduct of the young king, who was ſtill deſirous of ſhaking off the yoke of

50. Benedict. ad ann. 1181.—Similar regulations were eſtabliſhed by Henry in his tranſmarine dominions; and they appeared ſo judicious in the eyes of the French and Flemings, that they were ſoon adopted by thoſe nations.

parental

parental authority. But the addreſs of the father found means to reſtrain the ſon, for ſome years, from a renewal of his rebellious ſchemes, though he could not command his perfect ſubmiſſion. During the ſame period, Henry was ſometimes employed in the honorable office of mediator between different members of the royal family of France, and between the new ſovereign of that kingdom, (Philip, the ſon of Lewis the Younger, lately deceaſed) and the earl of Flanders. He did not perhaps foreſee that his ſervices would meet with an ill return from Philip, who ſoon began to follow his father's example, by encouraging the ſeditious ſpirit of the ſons of Henry.

Ab An. Dom. 1175 ad 1182.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Violent animosities break out among the sons of Henry.—The young king again forms rebellious designs;—which are stopped by his death.—Prince John is sent with an army into Ireland;—whence he returns with disgrace.—Henry takes the cross;—but is prevented by other affairs from entering upon a crusade.—The French king invades his continental territories.—The princes Richard and John rebel against him.—His death is accelerated by the ingratitude of his own children.—His character.

A. D. 1182. THE principal inquietudes of Henry's reign arose from the conduct of his own offspring, of children whom he had treated with distinguished kindness, and with an affection truly paternal. We have seen him brought to the verge of ruin by the rebellion of three violent youths, whom the perfidious counsels of the French court had stimulated to renounce the obligations of filial duty, and violate the sanctions of allegiance. New scenes of discord now occurred, to rouse the acute sensibility of the parent. His eldest son panted for the possession of some territory which he might rule in an independent manner; and the young prince's eagerness of temper prompted him to renew a demand which his father had before rejected, of the cession of the Norman duchy. Disgusted at a second refusal, the youth retired into the French dominions, where he received frequent messages from the elder king, offering a considerable augmentation of his allowance, and promising a recompence to such of the knights of the son's household as their munificent master wished to reward

for their services. He at length accepted these propo- A. D. 1183.
sals; and returning to his father, declared, by a volun-
tary oath, that he would never solicit a greater esta-
blishment than the king had now assigned him, and
would always follow his advice and direction [1]. This
reconciliation, however, was not so permanent as the
feelings of Henry wished it to be, or as the prince's
oath ought to have rendered it.

To cement, by feudal connexions, the fraternal con- A. D. 1183.
cord of his sons, the king desired Richard and Geof-
frey to do homage to their eldest brother for Aquitaine
and Bretagne. Geoffrey performed this ceremony with-
out reluctance, as Bretagne had been long holden as
a fief of Normandy, to which young Henry was heir.
But this submission was refused by Richard, who per-
haps reflected, that the demand of homage from him
to his brother was not just, as Aquitaine was a fief of
the French crown, and that such a requisition was
meant to confer, on the heir of the English crown, a
superiority over that duchy, which he, on the contrary,
wished to hold under no other vassalage than that
which was due to France. The young king was so
piqued at Richard's refusal, and at the same time so
resented that prince's conduct with regard to a castle
which the former claimed, that he fomented the aver-
sion which the barons of Aquitaine had conceived
against Richard, who, having for some time governed
that country under his father, had become unpopular
from the rigor of his administration. Being encour-
aged by the disaffected inhabitants of the duchy to
take them under his protection, he, in concert with
Geoffrey, took measures for the expulsion of Richard.
While he entered the province on one side, and ravaged
it with brutal barbarity, Geoffrey invaded it in an-
other quarter, and carried on his operations with equal

1. Benedict. Abb.—Hoved.

animosity,

A. D. 1183. animosity. Richard defended himself with great spirit; but the defection of the nobles so weakened his force, that he was unable to resist his brothers with effect, and therefore sent to his father for assistance. Alarmed at these unnatural dissensions, the elder king marched with an army into Aquitaine, that he might terrify his contending sons into an immediate cessation of hostilities. On his arrival at Limoges, he found the princes Henry and Geoffrey in possession of the citadel. With these turbulent youths he conferred on the subject of a reconciliation; but, while he was treating with them, his life was exposed to great danger from the arrows which the adherents of his two sons discharged from the walls of the fortress at him and his retinue. They amused him with idle negotiations, while their hearts were disinclined to peace; and Geoffrey was not deterred, by his father's authority and expostulations, from a renewal of his merciless ravages in the territories of that monarch. Young Henry's dissimulation was carried to a great excess; for, while he professed, in the king's presence, the sincerest repentance for his violations of filial piety, his real intentions were adverse to every sentiment of duty and to every suggestion of gratitude. The dread of excommunication, with which the pope (Lucius III.) menaced him at the king's desire, had little effect on his mind; and when that sentence had been denounced, in a synod at Caen, against all who disturbed the peace of the king of England, he still continued his intrigues with his father's enemies. Finding that he could not procure, from the king, such conditions of peace for the rebellious barons of Aquitaine as they wished, he resolved to try the event of a battle in their cause. The conflicts of different passions by which his mind was harassed, after he had formed a determination which might eventually in-

volve him in the guilt of parricide, at length diſordered his frame; and being ſeiſed with a fever, which gradually increaſed, and which was ſoon accompanied with a dyſentery, he prepared for his approaching diſſolution. A conſciouſneſs of his frequent acts of diſobedience towards an indulgent father, and of the flagitious ſchemes which he had contrived againſt the peace and proſperity of that monarch, operated on his mind with ſuch force, weakened as his paſſions now were by an alarming indiſpoſition, that he diſpatched a meſſage to the king, acknowledging his offences with deep contrition, and entreating him to viſit and forgive his penitent ſon. Henry, being diſſuaded by the remonſtrances of his counſellors from putting himſelf in the power of a diſaffected prince, who, they ſaid, had perhaps diſſembled an illneſs, with a view of betraying his father into the hands of his enemies, declined a compliance with his ſon's requeſt, but ſent him a ring as a teſtimony of his pardon. The prince received this final preſent with warm emotion; and, having ordered himſelf to be clothed in ſack-cloth, with a halter round his neck, he directed the prelates who ſtood near him, to draw him by the rope, and place him on a bed of aſhes. In this ſituation, he had the ſacrament adminiſtered to him, and ſoon reſigned his breath [2]. A. D. 1183. June 11.

Intelligence of the young king's diſſolution being brought to his father, who ſtill remained in the Limoſin, he was affected with the utmoſt violence of ſorrow, and ſeemed to regret the loſs of a contumacious and unworthy ſon, with feelings as poignant as thoſe which would have been excited by the death of the moſt virtuous of princes. At the time of his deceaſe, young Henry was in the twenty-ninth year of his age. He was poſſeſſed of ſome good qualities: he was liberal, friendly,

2. Hoved. Ann.—Gul Neubrig.

A. D. 1183. and affable; but his ambition, raſhneſs, imprudence, and credulity, led him into a courſe of unjuſtifiable meaſures. His perſonal courage was great; and he excelled in martial exerciſes. By his graceful addreſs, his winning condeſcenſion, and his diſtinguiſhed munificence, he acquired uncommon popularity among his father's ſubjects; and to this cauſe may be chiefly aſcribed the defection of ſo many perſons from the ſenior king, when the prince erected the enſigns of revolt. Though his queen Margaret had borne him a ſon, the early death of the infant left Richard heir of the Engliſh crown.

The rebels of Aquitaine were ſo diſcouraged at the loſs of young Henry, that they ſoon ſubmitted to the arms of his father. The caſtle of Limoges, and other fortreſſes belonging to the barons who had abetted the views of the deceaſed prince, were ſurrendered to the king, who commanded moſt of them to be razed to the ground. The Brabançons, who had been hired by the two confederate brothers to make war on Richard, were compelled to make a haſty retreat; and Geoffrey thought proper to ſubmit to the royal pleaſure. To guard againſt the future turbulence of this prince, who had for ſome years paſt acted as duke of Bretagne, Henry garriſoned the principal forts of that territory with his own troops.

Philip Auguſtus, the new ſovereign of France, deſirous of deriving ſome benefit from the death of the young Engliſh king, ſent envoys to Henry as ſoon as he had returned into Normandy, to demand not only the reſtitution of the Vexin Normand, which had been given as the marriage portion of Margaret, but alſo the ſurrender of thoſe lands which her huſband had aſſigned for her jointure. Henry aſſerted that the Vexin belonged to the Norman duchy by ancient right, and

that

that Margaret's father had renounced all pretenſions to it; and, with regard to what young Henry had ſettled on that princeſs, the fact was, that the ſame lands had before been beſtowed by way of jointure on queen Eleanor. After ſome negotiation, the diſpute was compromiſed in the following manner. Henry agreed to allow the widow a penſion for her life; and it was ſtipulated, that the Vexin Normand ſhould be aſſigned to one of his ſons, who ſhould marry Adelais, daughter of the late king of France. This princeſs had been propoſed in marriage to Richard, at the treaty of Montmirail; and, on the concluſion of that peace, ſhe had been ſent to the court of Henry, there to be educated till ſhe and the prince ſhould attain a proper age for nuptial conſummation. But, from that time to the preſent (a ſpace of fourteen years) Henry had never teſtified the leaſt inclination for ſolemniſing this marriage; and his neglect of executing that part of the treaty has been imputed by ſome hiſtorians to his own paſſion for Adelais, whom he is ſaid to have debauched [3]. This accuſation, however, muſt not be implicitly credited, as it reſts on imperfect teſtimony, and is rendered very doubtful by the general prudence and honor which marked the character of this monarch, who, though prone to amorous intercourſe, would have been extremely ſcrupulous of violating the chaſte fame of a royal virgin intruſted to his care, and deſtined for his own ſon; a conduct which he himſelf muſt have conſidered as a flagrant breach of truſt, and an ungenerous wound to the feelings of a family whom, on other occaſions, he treated with particular reſpect. A. D. 1183.

As Richard was now heir apparent to his father's dominions, the king was deſirous of conferring the duchy of Aquitaine, with which that prince had been

3, Brompt. Chron.

A. D. 1183. inveſted, on his youngeſt ſon John. But, when Richard was required to reſign that province to John, and receive the youth's homage for it, he refuſed his conſent to the transfer, declaring that, while he lived, none but himſelf ſhould enjoy the poſſeſſion of Aquitaine. To ſoften his inflexibility by the application of force, Henry

A. D. 1184. ordered Geoffrey and John to invade the duchy; but their brother checked theſe intruders, and, inflamed with revenge, made furious incurſions into Bretagne. Theſe hoſtilities were ſtopped by the influence of paternal authority; and, the three brothers repairing to England, a general reconciliation was effected in the family, though the late demand upon Richard was dropped. But, when that violent prince, in the fol-

A. D. 1185. lowing year, renewed the war with Geoffrey, his father was ſo incenſed, that he diſpatched a peremptory mandate to him, commanding him to lay down his arms, and reſign Aquitaine to queen Eleanor, to whom it lawfully belonged. The prince, conſcious of his mother's claim to the duchy, and apprehenſive that, if he ſhould oppoſe her pretenſions, a revolt of the barons might at length force him into compliance, ſurrendered the province into her hands, and proceeding to Henry's court in Normandy, was reſtored to paternal favor [4]

The affairs of Ireland now claimed the royal attention. When Hugh de Lacey had acted as guardian of that iſland near two years, he was ſuperſeded by the earl of Pembroke, whoſe ſervices to Henry, during the rebellion of his ſons, had contributed to allay that monarch's jealouſy. Some advantages gained by parties of the natives over the Engliſh coloniſts had rouſed the confidence of the former, and produced a general revolt from Henry, at the head of which was

4. Benedict.—Hoved.

Roderic,

Roderic, king of Connaught. This prince, however, had been conſtrained, by the ſucceſs of earl Strongbow and Raymond, to return to his allegiance to the Engliſh ſovereign; and had ſent his chancellor, and two other envoys, to the court of Henry, with renewed offers of homage and tribute. From this time Ireland had continued in a ſtate of little diſturbance, till the death of the earl of Pembroke, who was ſucceeded as guardian by William Fitz-Aldelm, under whoſe government John de Courcy made great progreſs in the reduction of Ulſter. Hugh de Lacey was afterwards re-inſtated in his office of governor, at the time when Ireland was granted to prince John, who, being then too young to enter upon the adminiſtration, was not ſent thither till the preſent year. Having publicly knighted this prince, Henry now equipped him for a voyage to Ireland, where he landed at Eaſter with a conſiderable army [5]. A. D. 1185.

To conciliate the favor and ſubmiſſion of the Iriſh nation, it was expedient that a perſon of high rank, of an amiable character, of great prudence, integrity, judgment, courage, and fortitude, ſhould have been ſent over as viceroy. But, if we except dignity of birth, John ſeems to have poſſeſſed none of theſe requiſites. It was not therefore probable, that any real benefit to the Engliſh government would reſult from his appearance in Ireland; and, indeed, the event proved that the king's choice of a governor injured the cauſe which he intended to ſerve. When John had arrived at Waterford, many of the Iriſh chieftains waited on him with reſpectful congratulations, which he and his youthful companions returned with inſolence

5. Girald. Camb. Hibern. Expugnat. lib. ii.—Benedict.—Annal de Marg.—At the time of this expedition, John was about nineteen years of age.

A. D. 1185. and deriſion. Impatient of ſuch treatment, the chiefs retired from his court, and communicated their diſpleaſure to the princes of Deſmond and Limeric, and the king of Connaught. They inveighed againſt the haughtineſs and incapacity of John, and of the ſtriplings by whoſe advice he was influenced; prognoſticated a ſeries of inſults, injuries, and oppreſſions, from the continuance of ſuch a governor among them; and conjured the three princes to aſſert the liberties of their country againſt the encroachments of tyrannical foreigners. The diſcontent of the complaining chiefs infected their auditors, who were far from being pleaſed with the Engliſh yoke, and therefore reſolved to renew their efforts for removing it from their necks. Their arms prevailed, in ſeveral conflicts, over the troops of John, who, jealous of the leaders of thoſe Engliſh and Welſh ſoldiers who had been eſtabliſhed in the iſland before his arrival, refuſed to employ them in his ſervice, and intruſted the command of the different corps of his army to inexperienced youths, more qualified to ſhine in the fields of Venus than in thoſe of Mars. Having ſquandered great ſums on his pleaſures and on his favorites, loſt a conſiderable part of his army either by ſlaughter or deſertion, and acted in every particular with diſgraceful imprudence, he was recalled by his father; and the ſervices of John de Courcy were rewarded with the government of the iſle. Under this deputy, the Engliſh affairs in Ireland aſſumed a more favorable aſpect; and though he was checked in his operations by Hugh de Lacey, who, in his lordſhip of Meath, aimed at an independent juriſdiction, he maintained the iſland in a greater degree of peace than could have been expected from the inteſtine diſcord of the natives, and their animoſity againſt the new coloniſts [6].

6. Benedict. Abb.—Girald. Hib. Exp.—Dicet. Imag. Hiſt.

While

While these events occurred in Ireland, Geoffrey, duke of Bretagne, had been importunate in his solicitations to his father for the resignation of Anjou, and had employed the intercession of the French king in support of his request; but, not finding Henry inclined to transfer to a younger son the inheritance of the elder, who himself strongly opposed such an alienation, he concerted with Philip the means of compelling both his father and brother to cede to him the desired territory. He proposed to hold Bretagne as the immediate vassal of France, and to co-operate with Philip in the conquest of Normandy. The French monarch, politic and ambitious, listened to the duke's suggestions, and would, in all probability, have joined him in hostilities against Henry, if an accident had not intervened. Geoffrey was attached to the fashionable exercise of tournaments; and, in one of those exhibitions of martial dexterity at Paris, he was dismounted and trampled under the feet of his antagonist's charger. The consequences of this rough usage were some violent bruises; and, though these were apparently healed, a fever at length attacked him, and carried him off the stage of life [7]. He was a prince of no contemptible talents, artful, eloquent, and insinuating; but destitute of honor, sentiment, and integrity.

A. D. 1185.

A. D. 1186.

Before the decease of this prince, his father had conducted a military force to Carlisle, with a view of suppressing the commotions of Galloway. The approach of a royal army struck terror into Roland, the chieftain who had disturbed the peace of that province; and he made immediate submissions to Henry, to whom, at the command of the king of Scotland, he swore fealty, and delivered hostages. While Henry was thus restoring the tranquillity of the borders, Richard was acquiring

7. Hoved. p. 360.—Dicet. col. 630.

A. D. 1186. laurels in the county of Toulouſe, the greater part of which he reduced with extraordinary rapidity[8].

The king of France having demanded, on the death of Geoffrey, the guardianſhip of Bretagne, as well as of that prince's infant daughter and heireſs, Henry objected to the requiſition, alleging that, as the duchy was a fief of Normandy, he himſelf was entitled to the wardſhip of the heir, and conſequently to the temporary adminiſtration of the province. Philip, however, perſiſted in his demand, on the ground of his being the lord paramount of Normandy, which involved the ſuperiority over Bretagne; and, as that arrogant monarch threw out menaces of hoſtility, Henry, anxious to avoid a war, ſent to the French court Ralph de Glanville, his chief juſticiary, and other reſpectable envoys, who obtained from Philip a truce for ſeveral months. To provide againſt the deſigns of this prince, Henry gave orders for military preparations; and having renewed the peace with Rhees ap Griffith, who had lately revolted, he procured from him a ſtipendiary body of Welſh, who were at that time in high reputation as light infantry.

A. D. 1187. Henry and Philip had two conferences in the following ſpring, for the adjuſtment of their diſputes; but the youthful ambition of the French prince inclining him to war, no accommodation enſued; and both parties prepared for the deciſion of arms. Philip commenced hoſtilities by a vigorous aſſault on Chateau Raoul, in Berry, which was defended for Henry by his ſons Richard and John. Their father advancing to their relief, the beſiegers retired from the walls; and both armies remained for ſome days in order of battle. But the ſpiritual menaces of two papal legates, who had accompanied Henry from England, prevented an

8. Benedict. Abb. tom. ii.

engagement;

engagement which otherwiſe ſeemed unavoidable; and a truce was concluded for two years [9]. A. D. 1187.

Conſtance, ducheſs of Bretagne, the relict of Geoffrey, having been delivered of a ſon about ſeven months after his death, Henry took the infant under his protection, though he ſuffered the mother to govern the duchy under him. This princeſs did not long remain a widow; for, by the recommendation of Henry, ſhe procured a ſecond huſband in the perſon of the earl of Cheſter, ſucceſſor of that nobleman who, acting as one of the leaders of the rebellion in Bretagne, had been taken by the king among the numerous captives at Dol. The earl, thus favored by a ſovereign to whom his father had been a great enemy, was permitted to aſſume the adminiſtration of the duchy, during the minority of Arthur, the poſthumous ſon of Geoffrey.

Though Philip had deſiſted from his claims reſpecting Bretagne, he had not relinquiſhed his intentions of embroiling the affairs of Henry; and an opportunity ſoon offered itſelf to him for that unfriendly purpoſe. Richard having paid him a viſit in his camp, on the concluſion of the late truce, he careſſed that prince with ſtudied artifice, and won him to ſuch a degree of intimacy, that he attended Philip to Paris, where, for ſome time, they appeared to be united in the ſtricteſt bonds of friendſhip. Henry's penetration ſuggeſted to him, that the aſſiduities of Philip aroſe from motives of ſelf-intereſt; and he ſo dreaded the effect which that monarch's inſinuations might have on a mind not ſtrongly impreſſed with ſentiments of filial duty, nor ſoftened by the influence of pacific virtues, that he ſent frequent meſſages to his ſon, ſoliciting his return, and promiſing him a compliance with every reaſon-

9. Benedict. ad ann. 1187.—Chron. Gervaſ. col. 1500.

A. D. 1187. able requeſt. The prince, profeſſing obedience, took leave of Philip; but, inſtead of repairing to his father's court, he proceeded to Chinon, and ſeiſing a great part of a treaſure which Henry had depoſited in the caſtle, haſtened into Poictou, with a ſeeming purpoſe of remaining in that province. Henry, however, ſtill continuing his negotiations with his ſon, the prince's ſpirit of independence yielded to the deſire of reconciliation; and, going to Angers, he gratified his father with a new oath of allegiance, and publicly ſwore that he would adhere to his counſels [10].

A. D. 1188. Philip, enraged at Henry's long delay in performing his engagements with regard to the marriage of Adelais and Richard, ſent a peremptory meſſage to the king, propoſing the alternative either of his immediately ſurrendering the Vexin Normand, or giving the hand of the French princeſs to his ſon. Deſirous of pacifying the wrath of Philip, Henry held a conference with him between Trie and Giſors; but, before the diſputed points had been ſettled between the rival monarchs, another buſineſs was opened to them by William archbiſhop of Tyre, who, in a forcible harangue, recommended a new cruſade [11].

The expedition of Lewis the Younger and the emperor Conrad III. into the Holy Land, had been rendered of little ſervice to the Chriſtian intereſts in that quarter, by the treachery of ſome of the principal cruſards, the ill offices of Emanuel II. emperor of the Eaſt, and other concurring cauſes. Thoſe great potentates had returned with loſs and diſgrace; and Noureddin, the enterpriſing ſultan of Aleppo, whoſe ſucceſs over the Chriſtians, in concert with the ſultan of Iconium, had furniſhed the chief occaſion of the ſecond cruſade, had renewed the war with freſh ſpirit

10. Benedict. Abb. tom. ii. 11. Id. ibid.

after

after the departure of Lewis and Conrad, had overrun the principality of Antioch, reduced the important city and territory of Damaſcus, and conſiderably diminiſhed the extent of the kingdom of Jeruſalem. The ſame good fortune, however, had not always attended the arms of Noureddin, who had met with an able competitor in the perſon of Baldwin III. ſovereign of that monarchy. After the death of Baldwin, Noureddin had made ſuch progreſs in his conqueſts, that ſeveral of the European princes, particularly the kings of England and France, had levied contributions on their ſubjects for the aid of the Oriental Chriſtians [12]. But the pecuniary ſupply which the king of Jeruſalem (Amalaric) thus procured, had not enabled him, though a warlike prince, to re-eſtabliſh his affairs; and the appearance of Salaheddin, commonly called Saladin, prognoſticated the further declenſion of the kingdom of Jeruſalem. This celebrated conqueror was a native of Curdiſtan, and was the nephew of Aſedoddin, a general in the ſervice of the ſultan Noureddin. His uncle, having aided the khalif of Egypt againſt Amalaric, who had invaded that country, ſeiſed and put to death the Egyptian prime miniſter, who, under the title of *Soldan*, had the whole power in his hands, like the *maires du palais* in the early periods of the French hiſtory. This exploit raiſed Aſedoddin to the ſame authority which the murdered miniſter had enjoyed, and which the paſſive khalif would not venture to refuſe him. Saladin ſoon ſucceeded his uncle in the direction of the affairs of Egypt; and, on the deceaſe of the khalif (whom, according to the archbiſhop of Tyre, Saladin was ſo inhuman as to aſſaſſinate, though, by the accounts of Mohammedan hiſ- A. D. 1188.

12. The tax raiſed in England for that purpoſe conſiſted of fourpence for every plough-land. *Matth. Par. ad ann.* 1166.

torians,

A. D. 1188. torians, he died a natural death), he gained complete poſſeſſion of the Egyptian monarchy. Having added, to this valuable dominion, the territories of Noureddin, which he had uſurped from the heir of that prince, he formed the deſign of ſubduing the kingdom of Jeruſalem. His attempts for the ſubverſion of the Chriſtian power in the Holy Land were enforced with ſuch vigor and prudence, as to kindle a general alarm among the ſubjects of that declining kingdom. In the battle of Tiberias, he totally defeated the army of Guy de Luſignan, king of Jeruſalem, and took that monarch priſoner. But, to the Chriſtians of that age, the moſt diſcouraging circumſtance of this defeat was the capture of the croſs on which our Saviour was ſuppoſed to have ſuffered [13]. Saladin's victory was followed by the reduction of Sidon, Acon, Jaffa, and other towns; Aſcalon was ſurrendered to him as a ranſom for his royal captive; Gaza and the neighbouring forts were taken by his detachments; and when he had re-united his diſperſed parties, he inveſted Jeruſalem itſelf. That city, though populous, was ill provided with able defenders; and Saladin, by detaining the king, contrary to his engagements, deprived the inhabitants of the counſels and example of their ſovereign. After ſome aſſaults had been made, the ſultan, knowing the weakneſs of the enemy, reſolved to make a vigorous attempt to take the place by ſtorm; but the terror of the citizens anticipated the execution of his purpoſe, the queen and her counſellors being prevailed on by their entreaties to deſiſt from oppoſing the arms of the beſiegers. An agreement was concluded with Saladin, purporting that all who ſhould pay a certain ſum to him, ſhould be permitted to retire in ſafety, while thoſe

13. Richardi Reg. Iter Hieroſol. & G. Vinifauf, lib. i. cap. 5.—Matth. Par. p. 139.

who

who were too indigent to raiſe the ſum required ſhould be detained priſoners. Of the latter deſcription, there are ſaid to have been 14,000 perſons [14]. A. D. 1188.

The capture of the holy city was the greateſt blow which the Chriſtians of the Eaſt had received; and the conſternation which it diffuſed among their brethren in Europe, is delineated in ſtrong colors by the cotemporary writers. The archbiſhop of Tyre was commiſſioned to repreſent to the European princes the calamitous ſtate of the believers in Paleſtine, and the danger of their ſpeedy extermination. Being preſent at the congreſs near Giſors, he harangued the aſſembly, which conſiſted of a great number of the Engliſh as well as continental nobility, in ſuch a ſtyle of argument as he deemed the beſt calculated to inflame their religious zeal, and animate their martial ardor. Henry and Philip, forgetting their mutual jealouſies, immediately took the croſs from the hands of the prelate; the earl of Flanders followed the example of the two kings; and many of the attendant nobles enliſted in the ſame ſervice. After the conference, Henry repaired to Le Mans, where he aſſembled the ſtates of Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, and, with their aſſent, impoſed a tax on thoſe provinces for the relief of the Holy Land, amounting to one tenth part of all rents and chattels, with the exception of arms, horſes, jewels, books, &c. excommunication being threatened to all who ſhould refuſe to contribute to this holy purpoſe. The ſame impoſt was extended to the other tranſmarine territories of Henry; and, as ſoon as he had appointed proper officers to collect it, he paſſed over into England, and ſummoned a national council for the diſcuſſion of the ſame buſineſs. The exaction of ſo conſiderable a ſhare as the tenth of a perſon's

14. Vinif. Iter Hieroſol. lib. i.

pro-

A. D. 1188. property, for the promotion of an enterprise so extravagant and so unconnected with the real interests of the kingdom, was not universally approved by the assembly; but the majority at length passed a law for the imposition of this tax, which was restricted to one year. Henry solicited the king of Scotland to grant the like contribution; but that prince, having consulted his states on the subject, found them unfriendly to the measure [15].

Prince Richard, impelled more by a warlike spirit than by religious motives, had taken the cross before the late interview between his father and the French king; but his preparations were interrupted by a confederacy of many of the barons of Aquitaine, in support of one of their own number, who had murdered an intimate friend of Richard. This prince, to whom Henry had restored the government of that duchy, suppressed the rising commotions without delay; and then turned his arms against the count of Toulouse. By the success of his efforts, he reduced the count to such distress, that he applied for aid to his lord paramount, the king of France. Philip immediately complained to Henry of the violence of his son's conduct, though Richard himself is said to have acknowledged, that he acted in this affair by the advice of the French king. The latter now took up arms against Henry, and invaded the province of Berry, where the treachery of the barons put him in possession of many of the fortresses. Such was the conduct of a prince who affected a regard for religion, and who had lately assured Henry, in the most solemn manner, that he would forbear all hostilities against him till the expiration of the crusade to which they had both agreed, and that he would even protect that monarch's foreign dominions against the

15. Benedict. tom. ii.—Hoved p. 365, 366.

attempts

attempts of other powers. After ineffectual negotiations with Philip, Henry returned to the continent, where he ſoon found the Norman duchy furiouſly haraſſed by the arms of France. To retaliate theſe attacks, he entered the Vexin François, and ravaged it with fire and ſword, till he received a meſſage from his rival, propoſing a pacific interview. A meeting took place near Giſors; but it terminated without a reconciliation; and Philip would have vigorouſly renewed the war, had not his principal nobles, who had aſſumed the croſs, declared that they would not ſerve him againſt Chriſtians till they ſhould have returned from the intended cruſade. In another conference, it was ſtipulated by Philip, that, if Henry would give Adelais in marriage to Richard, and would order all his ſubjects to ſwear fealty to that prince as his ſucceſſor, he would reſtore every place which he had taken ſince the laſt truce. Henry, who ſuſpected a ſecret co-operation between Richard and the French king, and did not wiſh to ally his ſon to ſo hoſtile a family, refuſed his aſſent to theſe conditions; notwithſtanding which, a truce was agreed on till the next feſtival of St. Hilary. Richard now threw off the maſk, and approaching Philip, did homage to him in the face of the aſſembly, for all the territories which his father poſſeſſed on the continent [16]. That monarch, in return, promiſed to give up to Richard all his conqueſts in Berry, and then retired from the place of meeting; while Henry, chagrined at his ſon's connexion with Philip, ſtood for ſome time involved in thought, and then proceeded to Aquitaine, to guard againſt the deſigns of the rebellious prince. A. D. 1188.

The truce had no ſooner expired, than Richard and his royal confederate, with a combined army of Poic- A. D. 1189.

16. Benedict.—Gul. Neubrig.

A. D. 1189. tevins, Bretons, and French, made inroads into Henry's poſſeſſions. But, by the mediation of the cardinal d'Anagni, a legate extraordinary from the court of Rome, the truce was renewed, and the two kings conſented to another interview: but this, notwithſtanding the excommunicatory menaces of the cardinal, which Philip and Richard treated with contempt, produced no adjuſtment of the diſpute. Not long after, the enemies of Henry aſſaulted La Ferté Bernard, the ſcene of the late conference; and having quickly reduced it, beſieged other towns and fortreſſes in Maine. The conqueſt of theſe led them to Le Mans, the birth-place and favorite reſidence of Henry, who was then in the city with an army much inferior to that of the allies. Stephen de Tours, ſeneſchal of Anjou, obſerving the approach of Philip and Richard, ſet fire to the ſuburbs; but a change of the wind carried the flames into the city, and greatly augmented the confuſion which the appearance of the enemy had already occaſioned among the inhabitants. A detachment of Henry's forces, in endeavouring to demoliſh a bridge over the Sarte, ſuſtained a fierce attack from the confederates, who at length forcing their adverſaries to retreat into the town, the purſuers entered with the fugitives. The terrors of the citizens now redoubled; the rage of the conflagration, and the fury of the allies, obſtructed the efforts of Henry, who, being unable to allay the conſternation of his people, and extremely unwilling to fall into the hands of the enemy, fled to Frenelles with his dejected troops [17]. Philip purſued him for ſome miles, and ſlew many of the Welſh in his rear; then returning to Le Mans, took the citadel, and, after ſome inferior conqueſts, inveſted the ſtrong city of Tours, which the tempo-

17. Hoved. p. 372.—Matth. Par. p. 144.—Gul. Neubrig.—Girald. Cambrenſ. Vit. Galfr. Arch. Ebor.

rary

rary ſhallowneſs of the Loire enabled him to take by a coup de main [18]. A.D. 1189.

The king of England was greatly alarmed at the ſucceſs of Philip, who, elate with his good fortune, prepared for a vigorous continuance of the war, which, he had reaſon to expect, from the martial talents of Richard, and the great defection of Henry's ſubjects to his heir apparent, would gratify the allies with a ſeries of triumphs. Mortified at the wretched proſpect of his affairs, Henry began to give way to deſpondency. He reflected, with the keeneſt anguiſh, on the ungrateful and rebellious conduct which he had ſucceſſively experienced in his ſons: he lamented the ſelfiſh ſpirit and the inconſtancy of his ſubjects, who, perceiving the infirmity of his health, eagerly courted the favor of one whom they expected ſoon to behold in the poſſeſſion of paternal royalty and power. His ſorrows were exceedingly heightened by the deſertion of his ſon John, whom he had always cheriſhed with the moſt tender affection, and to whom he looked forward, as the ſupport of his declining years againſt the machinations of the turbulent Richard. In his retreat from Le Mans, John had taken the opportunity of revolting from him, and of joining in the formidable league which threatened him with the loſs of all his foreign dominions [19].

The duke of Burgundy, the earl of Flanders, and the archbiſhop of Rheims, unwilling to concur in the depreſſion of Henry, viſited that afflicted monarch at Saumur, to mediate a peace between him and his adverſaries. So ſmall a ſhare did he now retain of his uſual fortitude, and ſo much was his mind ſubdued by the injured feelings of his heart and the attacks of

18. Hoved. Ann.—Gul. Armoric. de Geſtis Philippi Auguſt.—Rigord. de eodem Rege, apud Du-Cheſne.

19. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iii.—Girald. Cambr.—Gul. Armoric.

A. D. 1189. corporal infirmity, that he condescended to accept such terms of peace as were offered to him. It was stipulated, that Henry should deliver the princess Adelais into the hands of some respectable person, who should engage to give her up to Richard after his return from the crusade; that this prince should receive the homage and fealty of all his father's subjects, with a reserve of the allegiance due to Henry; that all who had revolted to Richard should continue to adhere to him till the last month before Henry's departure for the Holy Land; that the latter should pay to the king of France 20,000 marks towards the charges of the war, and should be restored to the possession of whatever towns or castles had been taken from him, except the cities of Tours and Le Mans, which should be detained as securities for his punctual execution of the treaty [20]. Before the signature of these articles, Henry had been seised with a fever, produced, or at least augmented, by the operation of grief on a broken constitution. During his illness, he imprecated a malediction on his sons for the ungenerous return which they had made to his affection; and, finding that his disorder became too powerful to be resisted by medical efforts, he prepared, with pious resolution, for the stroke of death. He was attended in his last moments by his natural son Geoffrey, chancellor of his kingdom, from whom he had received constant proofs of unshaken loyalty and the most cordial attachment. He died at Chinon, in
July 6. the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. Richard, hearing of his death, visited the royal corpse in the abbey-church of Fontevrault; and while he stood appalled at the spectacle, blood was observed to gush from the nostrils of the deceased king; a circumstance which, being supposed by the super-

20. Benedict. Abb.—Matth. Par.—Dicet. Imag. Hist.

stitious

ſtitious to be an indication of the preſence of the murderer, drew from the penitent prince an exclamation, importing that his perverſe conduct had been the unfortunate occaſion of his father's death [21]. A. D. 1189.

The perſon of Henry II. was manly and engaging. His features, though not handſome, were agreeable; he had a lively and penetrating eye; and his aſpect diſplayed a mixture of dignity and complacency. Though inclined to corpulence, he prevented himſelf, by his uncommon activity, from being incommoded by an exceſs of that habit of body. No prince could more accuſtom himſelf to exerciſe than Henry, to whom a long repoſe was almoſt unknown. Indeed, his corporal fatigues were frequently ſo oppreſſive, that they accelerated the ruin of his conſtitution.

The talents which he derived from nature were eminently great. His mind was vigorous and comprehenſive, his diſcernment acute, and his judgment profound. His education was attended with peculiar advantages, being directed by one of the moſt accompliſhed men of the age, Robert earl of Gloceſter, his maternal uncle. He did not, like moſt of the princes and barons of that period, confine his purſuits to arms and chivalry; but cultivated literature and ſcience with eagerneſs and aſſiduity. In hiſtory and politics, he

21. Hoved.—Matth. Par.—Henry's male offspring having been repeatedly mentioned, a brief account remains to be given of his female children. Matilda, his eldeſt daughter, was married to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, whom, when expelled from his territories by the emperor, his father-in-law liberally maintained for ſome years. Eleanor, another daughter of this monarch, became the wife of Alphonſo, king of Caſtile. Joan, his third daughter, eſpouſed William the Good, king of Sicily, and, after his death, Raymond VI. count of Toulouſe. Beſides his legitimate iſſue, he had two ſons by Roſamond de Clifford, whoſe connexion with him has furniſhed materials for romantic pens. Geoffrey, his chancellor, was the younger of theſe; the other being William Longſword, earl of Saliſbury.

A. D. 1189. particularly excelled; and as, from his early youth, he delighted in the converſation of learned and intelligent perſons, whom he encouraged to impart their ſtores of knowledge, he commenced the exerciſe of government with all the prudence and preparation of advanced life, at an age when ordinary individuals are imperfectly qualified for the adminiſtration even of their private concerns. His obſervations on men and things were ſagacious and juſt; and ſo retentive was his memory, that he ſcarcely ever forgot either a face or a circumſtance that merited recollection.

In the diſcharge of the royal functions, he evinced a benevolent regard to the welfare of his people, and directed all his efforts to that deſirable end. Though his firmneſs may have ſometimes degenerated into an exertion of arbitrary power, thoſe inſtances were ſo rare, that he had an indubitable claim to the reputation of a merciful and equitable governor. The heavy burthens which the firſt Henry impoſed on his ſubjects, were unfelt in the reign of his grandſon, who not only remitted the odious Dane-geld, but exacted fewer contributions from the public, than any of his Anglo-Norman predeceſſors. With the ſame patriotic views which induced him to abſtain from fleecing his people, he endeavoured to exempt them from the miſeries of war; though the intrigues of France, and the unſubmiſſive temper and ambitious ſpirit of his ſons, frequently obliged him to have recourſe to arms. Whenever he was thus impelled to action, he convinced the world that his wiſh for peace did not ariſe from puſillanimity; for, though the principal victories that ſignaliſed his reign were achieved without the aid of his immediate preſence, his courage and military ſkill were evident on various occaſions. Towards the cloſe of his life, indeed, he fled from the face of his enemies,

enemies, when they had forced their way into Le Mans; but this retreat was demanded, as a point of prudence, by the particular circumſtances of his ſituation, when the defection of a great number of his ſubjects had weakened his confidence in the remainder; when his force was very inconſiderable, in compariſon with that of the allies; and when the ſudden irruption of the latter into the city had diffuſed among his followers a general conſternation. A.D. 1189.

As a judge, he was diſtinguiſhed by the impartiality of his deciſions, the wiſdom and ability with which he examined a cauſe, and the ſtrictneſs with which his ſentences, and thoſe of his juſticiaries, were executed. He was not, however, unreaſonably ſevere; but he deemed it the firſt duty of a ſovereign to enforce obedience to the laws. Such was his judicial reputation, that two Spaniſh kings ſubmitted an important controverſy to his award. Theſe were, Sanchez king of Navarre, and Alphonſo king of Caſtile[22].

Among the virtues of this prince we may reckon his magnanimity, which taught him to pardon his proſtrate enemies; his munificence to perſons of merit in every department; the diſtinguiſhed liberality which he exerciſed towards the indigent; his mixture of magnificence and œconomy in the arrangements of his court and houſehold; his averſion to luxury and exceſs; his affability, ſweetneſs of temper, and modeſty of demeanor. But his good qualities were allayed by ſome imperfections. The warmth of his feelings not only hurried him into fits of impetuous wrath, and occaſional acts of violence, but prompted him to infringe the laws of chaſtity. When he was induced to think that he had met with ſtrong provocations, and had been treated with flagrant injuries, he did not always

22. Benedict. Abb. et Hoved. ad ann. 1177.

A. D. 1189. relinquish his enmity, as perhaps the affair of Becket will evince; but, in general, his clemency and generosity of mind absorbed all desire of vengeance, and disposed him to a return of amity. It may also be objected, that he was inclined to dissimulation, and did not, in public stipulations, inviolably adhere to the obligations of faith; but his most invidious detractors cannot pretend to assert, with his archiepiscopal antagonist, that he was a political Proteus, apt to change with every breeze, and incapable of a fixed purpose, or of a systematic adherence to his promises or declarations.

To sum up his character in a few words, he was an able politician, a respectable warrior, an eloquent orator, a sagacious legislator, a beneficent sovereign, attentive, from principle, to the prosperity both of the church and state, and anxious to promote those valuable purposes which distinguish a regular government from a state of capricious despotism, and from the confusions of savage anarchy.

CHAP.

BRITISH
14 NO 63
MUSEUM



Heath sculp.

RICHARD I.

Publiſhid April 23. 1791. by C. Stalker.

CHAP. V.

RICHARD I. ſurnamed COEUR-DE-LION.

Richard's coronation is attended with a great deſtruction of the Engliſh Jews.—He amaſſes a great treaſure for the purpoſes of the cruſade.—He reduces the iſland of Cyprus;—ſignaliſes his valor at the ſiege of Acon;—and obtains a great victory over Saladin.—His dominions, in his abſence, are haraſſed with conſtant commotions.—He is ſeiſed and impriſoned, in his return to England, by the duke of Auſtria.

RICHARD had now attained the great object of his wiſhes. He had long thirſted for the exerciſe of royal power, and the glories of independent dominion; and though he ſeemed to be ſincere in the regret which he expreſſed for the loſs of his father, the advantages accruing to him from that event quickly ſubdued the grief to which it gave riſe. A. D. 1189.

The firſt act of Richard's government was the ſeiſure of Stephen de Tours, whom the late king had intruſted with the care of his foreign treaſures. Though this officer immediately delivered up his valuable charge, he was not releaſed till he had gratified the rapacious prince by the ſurrender of his private fortune. Richard then continued him in his office of ſeneſchal of Anjou, which he had exerciſed with ability and diligence. The other faithful ſervants of Henry were permitted to retain their employments, without being obliged, like the ſeneſchal, to purchaſe that favor. At the ſame time, thoſe perſons who had abetted Richard's revolt, were treated by him with marked

A. D. 1189. reſentment, and diſcarded from his ſervice as traitors to their late ſovereign [1].

On his firſt arrival at Rouen after his father's interment, he was inveſted with the ſword of the Norman dukedom; and before his departure for England, he confirmed his brother John in the earldom of Mortagne, and other grants which he had received from the defunct monarch; beſtowed the ſee of York on Henry's natural ſon Geoffrey; and diſpenſed other favors to different individuals. He then had a conference with the king of France, to whom, on condition of his deſiſting from the demand of the Vexin Normand, and of his reſtoring every capture of the late war, he promiſed an addition of 4000 marks to the ſum which Henry had agreed to pay him by the late treaty [2].

Queen Eleanor, having been empowered, by her ſon, to act as regent of England in his abſence, made a provincial progreſs, and commanded that the gates of the priſons ſhould be opened for the diſmiſſion of their tenants; for, as ſhe herſelf had endured the miſeries of confinement, ſhe knew, by experimental contraſt, the value of liberty. She had been detained in cuſtody for ſome years from the firſt rebellion of her ſon Henry; and, after an interval of freedom, had been re-confined before her huſband's death. But, by the favor of Richard, ſhe now emerged from the obſcurity under which ſhe had been ſhrouded, and aſſumed the temporary government of a people who had witneſſed her diſgrace and impriſonment.

Having arranged the concerns of his foreign dominions, Richard came over to England, accompanied by his brother the earl of Mortagne. He took poſſeſſion,

1. Benedict. Abb.—Matth. Par. 2. Hoved. p. 373.—Matth. Par. p. 146.

without

without delay, of his father's ample treaſures at Winchester; and, as ſoon as the requiſites for his coronation had been prepared, he underwent that ceremony in a very numerous aſſembly of the ſtates of his realm. A. D. 1189. Sept. 3.

This ſolemnity was attended with a ſignal diſplay of ſuperſtitious fury, intolerance, and rapacity. From the Conqueſt to this period, a great number of Jews had reſided in England; and, as thoſe ſectaries have been always remarkable for their mercantile ſkill, and their addiction to uſury, they had for ſome time enjoyed the principal ſhare of the commerce of this country, and the excluſive practice of lending money on intereſt, which had been prohibited to Chriſtians by the canons of the church [3]. By the ſame code, they were adjudged to be, as it were, the ſlaves of the ſovereign in whoſe territories they lived; and ſome princes, taking advantage of this illiberal deciſion, fleeced their Jewiſh ſubjects without mercy. To reimburſe themſelves for theſe exactions, they demanded exorbitant intereſt for the ſums which they lent to individuals; for, as they were uſually maſters of the greater part of the caſh circulated through the nation, the continual applications that were made to them for pecuniary loans gave them an opportunity of making their own terms. Their ſelfiſhneſs and avidity, by leading them to groſs extortion, had kindled the odium of the people; their ſuperior opulence had excited envy; and the difference of their religion kept up the flame of animoſity between them and the Chriſtians, who, at a time when the public indignation had riſen to ſuch a height againſt the Mohammedan unbelievers, directed ſome ſhare of their rancor towards the infidel followers of Moſes. The humanity of the ſecond Henry had

3. Hoved. Ann. p. 335.—Wilk. Concil. Magnæ Britan. tom. i.

in-

A. D. 1189. influenced him to protect this ſect from perſecution; but his ſucceſſor, inflamed with zeal againſt the Iſraelites, or apprehenſive of the eventual miſchiefs of a numerous and mixed crowd, compoſed of perſons whoſe mutual hatred would readily break out into quarrels, gave orders, on the day which preceded his conſecration, that no Jews ſhould enter the abbey of Weſtminſter during that ſolemnity, or the hall of the adjacent palace during the coronation-feaſt [4]. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, ſome of the moſt opulent Jews, intending to make preſents to the new king, endeavoured to enter the hall; but, being diſcovered by the populace, they were aſſailed with obloquy and clamor, and puſhed back with great violence, for preſuming to diſobey the royal edict. A tumult inſtantly aroſe; the Jews who had approached the hall fled from the impending danger; the mob purſued them with a brutal thirſt of revenge; and all the Iſraelites that were found in the neighbourhood of the palace were cruelly beaten, wounded, or killed. A report being quickly propagated through the capital, that the king had commanded the maſſacre of all the Jews, the general antipathy againſt this race, encouraged by the deſire of rioting in the ſpoils of ſo wealthy a fraternity, prompted the rabble to the moſt inhuman acts of violence and outrage. They ſlew all the Jews whom they met in the ſtreets; ſtripped their habitations of whatever was valuable; and ſet fire to the houſes in which they endeavoured to defend themſelves againſt the popular rage. Hence aroſe various conflagrations, which involved the contiguous houſes of Chriſtians; and theſe ſcenes of horror continued for the whole remainder of the day, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of the juſticiary Glanville, whom the king had ſent with

4. Gul. Neubrig.—Benedict. Abb.

other noblemen to allay the diſturbance. After the houſes as well as perſons of the Jewiſh citizens had felt the fury of the mob, the dwellings of many of the Chriſtian inhabitants became the objects of tumultuary rapacity [5]. A. D. 1189.

The king was incenſed at theſe outrageous proceedings; but, finding that ſome of the beſt families in the city were implicated in the guilt of the ſedition, he forbore to make a ſtrict inquiry into the affair, and contented himſelf with ordering the execution of a few of the moſt atrocious delinquents. He then iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting the people from injuring or moleſting the Jews. This, however, did not prevent the maſſacre of a conſiderable number of thoſe obnoxious characters, in the courſe of the following year, at Lynn, Stamford, Lincoln, York, and other towns in which the Jews were numerous.

Richard's thoughts were now engroſſed by the cruſade, for which he prepared with uncommon ardor. That he might not embark in ſuch an expenſive enterpriſe without ſuch a ſupply as would enable him to ſupport the dignity of a great monarch, he added to his father's treaſures all the money which the influence of royal perſuaſion, the ſale of the crown demeſnes, of offices, honors, and charters, and the practice of the moſt ſcandalous extortion, could collect from the purſes of his ſubjects [6]. Among other means of accumulation, he procured a large ſum by abſolving of their oaths, with the pope's conſent, many of thoſe who had engaged to go to the Holy Land; a meaſure which, in appearance, tended to injure his proſpect of ſucceſs in the Eaſt, but which he did not carry to ſuch

5. Gul. Neubrig.—Hoved.—Ann. Waverl.—Matth. Par.
6. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv.—Hoved.

an

A. D. 1189. an extent as to render the number of his followers too inconsiderable.

Not content with the great sums which he had already amassed, he entered into a negotiation with the king of Scotland, and consented to restore to that prince the independency of his crown, as well as the fortresses of Berwick and Roxburgh, for 10,000 marks [7]; a payment very inadequate to the purchase of what Richard relinquished by this convention.

By these and other means, the king is said to have raised a much greater quantity of money than any of his predecessors had ever had in their possession; and, being summoned by the king of France to appear at Vezelai by the Easter following, that his troops and those of Philip might rendezvous near that town, before their departure to the East, he promised, on oath, that he would attend at the appointed time and place. He then committed the administration of his realm to William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely, a man of low birth, and of an intriguing, interested character, whom he had elevated to the dignity of chancellor, to which he now added that of principal justiciary. Hugh de Pusey, bishop of Durham, and earl of Northumber-

7. Benedict. Abb. et Hoved. ad. ann. 1189.—Matth. Par. p. 149.—Of the five castles delivered up to Henry II. by William the Lion, three had been restored by the former prince; but he had thought proper to retain the important fortresses of Berwick and Roxburgh, as barriers against the irruptions of the Scots, and as securities for their fidelity to him; though, indeed, it is affirmed by Matthew Paris, that William gave those two castles in perpetuity to Henry and his successors.

Some of the Scottish historians, speaking of Richard's surrender of the superiority of the English crown over Scotland, absurdly insinuate, that the sum paid to that monarch by William, was not exacted as a compensation for the dereliction of the claims of the former, but was merely given by the Scot from a spontaneous principle of gratitude for the condescension of Richard.

land,

land, was appointed chief juſticiary in the northern counties; and four temporal noblemen were aſſociated with the two biſhops in the exerciſe of government and judicature. John, the king's brother, was loaded with honors and eſtates; for, in addition to his Norman earldom, to a handſome penſion which his father had ſettled on him, and the extenſive property which he derived from a matrimonial connexion with the heireſs of William earl of Gloceſter, he received, from the profuſe bounty of Richard, the dignity of earl of Cornwall, ſeveral other earldoms, and a number of baronies [8]. By theſe favors to his brother, the king hoped to fix him in a courſe of grateful ſubmiſſion to his benefactor; but, from what he had obſerved of John's character, he might have reflected, that ſuch grants would rather tend to ſtimulate the ambition of that prince to the attainment of higher objects, and to a revolt from his abſent ſovereign, the uncertainty of whoſe return would afford to the unprincipled John, poſſeſſed as he now was of an amplitude of power and opulence, an opportunity of aiming at the throne itſelf. A. D. 1189.

The affairs of England being ſettled, the king embarked for the continent, and landing at Calais, was honorably received by the earl of Flanders, who accompanied him into Normandy. Here he practiſed a ſordid expedient for increaſing his pecuniary ſtores. Pretending that the great ſeal had been loſt during the voyage, he gave notice, that none of the numerous grants which had been lately ſanctioned with that ſeal, ſhould be valid, till they were confirmed by a new one; and, as he demanded a certain payment for this favor, he procured, by this unkingly artifice, a conſiderable ſum [9]. Dec. 11.

8. Benedict. Abb.—Gul. Neubrig.—Matth. Par.

9. Matth. Par. p. 150.

A. D. 1190. During the winter, he had a public conference with Philip Auguſtus, on the ſubject of the cruſade. At this interview, an oath was taken by each of the kings, purporting, that a durable peace ſhould be preſerved between them; that each ſhould aſſiſt in defending the dominions, and maintaining the intereſts, of the other; and that, if either of them ſhould die in the expedition, the ſurvivor ſhould employ againſt the infidels the men and money of the defunct [10]. The nobility on both ſides ſwore to the obſervance of mutual peace, and excommunication was threatened by the attendant prelates againſt all who ſhould violate the preſent convention. Richard afterwards ſent to England for prince John, and his natural brother Geoffrey, whom he required to ſwear, that they would not return into that kingdom for the enſuing three years. The purpoſe of this obligation was to guard againſt the ill deſigns which his two brothers might be diſpoſed to entertain in his abſence; but he ſoon abandoned his ſuſpicions, and releaſed them from the oath which he had exacted.

The rendezvous at Vezelai being deferred till Midſummer, the two kings employed the interval in a diligent continuance of their preparations; and when the troops of both princes, amounting in the aggregate to about 100,000 [11], were ready for marching, they advanced together to Lyons. Here the army of Philip ſeparated from that of Richard, the former turning towards Genoa, where the French fleet was aſſembled, and the latter proceeding to Marſeilles to meet the Engliſh navy. Richard, not finding his fleet in this harbour, reſolved not to wait it's arrival; and, hiring a few veſſels, he ſet ſail with his houſehold for Meſſina, where Philip had agreed to meet him. The Engliſh fleet, having arrived at Marſeilles, and received on

10. Hoved. p. 378.—Matth. Par. 11. Vinif. Iter Hieroſ. lib. ii. cap. 9.

board

board the army which the king had left there, ſailed for the Sicilian rendezvous. The French fleet reached Meſſina two days after the arrival of the Engliſh armament; and Richard, who had ſtopped at Salerno, joined the king of France in the following week. Philip now ſet ſail for the ſhores of Paleſtine; but the violence of a contrary wind ſubjected him to the neceſſity of returning into the port; and a continuance of unfavorable weather obliged the two kings to defer their enterpriſe till the expiration of the approaching winter. A. D. 1190. Sep. 23.

The haughty and unyielding diſpoſitions both of Philip and Richard could not but produce frequent diſſenſions between them, during a tedious reſidence in the ſame place. Diſputes were alſo likely to ariſe between their reſpective followers, inflamed as they were with national rivalry. It was, at the ſame time, to be expected, that the Sicilians would feel ſome jealouſy and diſcontent at the long continuance of ſuch a multitude of foreigners in their iſland. The conſequences were ſuch as might have been apprehended; but a detail of the miſunderſtandings between the two princes, and of other incidental diſturbances which occurred at Meſſina, would only retard the more important parts of the narrative.

Richard, ſoon after his arrival in Sicily, ſent a meſſage to Tancred, ſovereign of that kingdom, deſiring him to releaſe Joan, the daughter of the late king of England, and widow of William the Good, whom he had detained in cuſtody ſince the death of her huſband. Tancred, unwilling to diſoblige ſo powerful a monarch, inſtantly gratified him with the ſurrender of his ſiſter. The Sicilian king, in compenſation for Richard's demand of the jointure of the queen-dowager, and of a legacy bequeathed to Henry II. by William the

A. D. 1190. the Good, preſented that prince with 20,000 ounces of gold. He then contracted one of his daughters to Richard's nephew Arthur, the infant duke of Bretagne, and paid an equal quantity of gold for the lady's portion [12].

A. D. 1191. Before the departure of the cruſards from Meſſina, their two royal leaders concluded a treaty of accommodation; by which, among other ſtipulations, Richard, on promiſing to pay a certain ſum to Philip, was releaſed from his engagements for the marriage of Adelais of France. He had been long enamoured of Berengaria, the beautiful daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, whom he had requeſted his mother to bring into Sicily. Eleanor and her future daughter-in-law landed at Meſſina after the departure of the king of France from that city to the Holy Land, and found Richard preparing to follow his rival to the theatre of expected glory. His mother returning to England after ſhe had reſigned her fair companion into the hands of the queen-dowager of Sicily, Richard embarked for Paleſtine, accompanied by his ſiſter and Berengaria, and followed by his whole army. A tempeſt ariſing in his voyage, the king put into a harbour of the iſle of Crete, and afterwards into Rhodes, with a great part of his navy; but three of his largeſt veſſels, in one of which were the two princeſſes, were driven to ſuch a diſtance from the reſt of the fleet, that he was extremely alarmed with the apprehenſions of their danger. He at length found that two of theſe ſhips had been wrecked on the coaſt of Cyprus; that the crews had been either drowned, or impriſoned by Iſaac, king of that iſland; and that the third veſſel, containing the two ladies, remained at anchor before Limiſſo, the king having refuſed to admit it within the harbour. Fired with indignation and re-

12. Hoved.—Matth. Par.

venge,

venge, Richard haſtened to Cyprus; and, having received from Iſaac an inſolent anſwer to a reſpectful meſſage for the releaſe of the Engliſh priſoners, and the reſtitution of their goods, he diſembarked his men in the face of the Cypriots; routed them with great ſlaughter; took poſſeſſion of Limiſſo, which the terrified enemy had abandoned; gave another defeat to Iſaac, who left his treaſures and baggage a prey to the victors; and finally reduced that tyrant to perfect ſubmiſſion. The vanquiſhed prince implored the mercy of Richard; engaged to pay a large ſum to that monarch by way of indemnification for the injuries which his ſubjects had received; declared himſelf the vaſſal of the king of England; promiſed to attend him in that capacity in the holy war; and ſwore that he would not quit Richard's camp till he had performed the ſtipulated conditions. Repenting, however, of the ſubjection to which he had bound himſelf, he ſecretly retired, and diſclaimed the inglorious convention. Richard now prepared for the conqueſt of the whole iſle; and, with the aſſiſtance of Guy de Luſignan, king of Jeruſalem, who had lately arrived at Cyprus from Paleſtine, he reduced Nicoſia and other towns, drove Iſaac before him from place to place, and at length compelled him to ſurrender at diſcretion. He ſtationed garriſons in the fortreſſes of the iſland; ſeiſed all the treaſures of the opulent Iſaac; exacted a large contribution from the Cypriots, for the confirmation of their laws; ſent the captive prince to Tripoli in Syria, loaded with ſilver fetters; and, having commiſſioned two of his barons to act as governors of the conquered iſle, ſet ſail for the Holy Land, where his preſence was anxiouſly deſired [13]. A. D. 1191.

13. Hoved. p. 392—394.—Vinif. Iter. Hieroſ. lib. ii.

A. D. 1191. Acon, or Acra (the Ptolemaïs of the ancient Greeks), had been beſieged for near two years by the Chriſtian inhabitants of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, and by the cruſards who flocked to that country. Saladin, convinced of the importance of this place, had repaired it's fortifications immediately after he had taken it from the Chriſtians, and had ſupplied it with a numerous garriſon. It would probably have been recovered before the arrival of the French and Engliſh cruſards, if the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, who had aſſumed the croſs on hearing of Saladin's victories, and had marched towards the Eaſt with an army ſuperior in number even to the united forces of Philip and Richard, had not died in his progreſs. The loſs of that able and gallant monarch had ſo damped the zeal of his followers, that a conſiderable number of them had returned homeward; and the remainder had been ſo diminiſhed by the attacks of famine and peſtilence, that a very ſmall proportion had reached the Chriſtian camp at Acra [14].

In his way to Acra, Richard took a veſſel of uncommon magnitude, abounding in proviſions and military ſtores, which Saladin had ſent to the relief of the garriſon of that city. He was welcomed, on his arrival, with the applauſive ſhouts of the beſiegers, who expected, from the number and intrepidity of his troops, and the greatneſs of his martial talents, the ſpeedy reduction of Acra. Philip, who had arrived ſome time before his Engliſh confederate, received him with external teſtimonies of joy; and the two kings directed the operations of the ſiege with great judgment and ability, and diſplayed many ſpecimens of perſonal valor; but, in the general opinion both of the Chriſtian and

14. Iſm. Abulfed. Chron. ad ann. Hej. 586.

Moham-

Mohammedan hiſtorians, Richard's military reputation eclipſed that of the French monarch. An indiſpoſition with which the two princes were ſucceſſively ſeiſed, contributed to retard the accompliſhment of their wiſhes; but, after their recovery, they made ſuch vigorous aſſaults at the head of their troops, and ſuch breaches in the fortifications, that the defenders were apprehenſive leſt the place ſhould be taken by ſtorm. To prevent an occurrence which, they feared, would terminate in the maſſacre of the whole garriſon as well as of all the citizens, they ſent meſſengers to Saladin, informing him of the neceſſity of their ſurrendering, if immediate relief ſhould not be afforded them. The ſultan, unwilling to venture on a general engagement with the beſiegers, though that was the only chance which he had of relieving the town, permitted the officers of the garriſon to negotiate with the enemy. The terms of capitulation were thus ſettled: it was agreed, that the garriſon and inhabitants ſhould retire in ſafety, leaving their arms and effects behind them [15]; that the true croſs, which had been taken by Saladin in the battle of Tiberias, ſhould be reſtored, with 2500 Chriſtian priſoners; that, in conſideration of the grant of life and liberty, they ſhould pay, to the two kings, 200,000 byzantines; and that numerous hoſtages ſhould be delivered into the hands of the beſiegers, to be detained till the complete execution of the articles.

A. D. 1191.

July 12.

Such was the termination of a ſiege, which had employed, for about two years, the efforts of the whole

15. Vinif. lib. iii. cap. 17.—Bohaoddin, and other Mohammedans who have recounted the events of this period, affirm, that the garriſon and inhabitants of Acra were permitted, by the treaty, to carry away their money and effects, leaving only their arms behind them; but Vinifauf, who attended Richard into Paleſtine, aſſerts, that, by the convention, they were ſuffered to take nothing with them but their ſhirts.

A. D. 1191. Chriſtian power in Syria and Paleſtine, reinforced by multitudes of warriors from moſt of the European provinces; which had been oppoſed with extraordinary valor and perſeverance by the troops of Saladin, conſiſting of Turks and Saracens; and which had been attended with a great number of furious aſſaults, vigorous ſallies, and well-conteſted ſkirmiſhes. The Engliſh monarch acquired the moſt elevated fame by the exploits which he performed during this ſiege; and his reputation was not ſolely derived from the exertions of animal courage, but comprehended the praiſe of excellent military conduct. But he tarniſhed the luſtre of his glory by an act of vindictive inhumanity. Saladin having refuſed to reſtore the eroſs, and pay the ſum ſtipulated by the late treaty, Richard was ſo enraged at his perfidy, that he ordered the Mohammedan hoſtages, amounting to 2700 perſons, to be brought out before the town, and beheaded in the ſight of their countrymen [16]. The ſultan retaliated this cruelty by the immediate decapitation of a conſiderable number of Chriſtian priſoners.

On the death of Sibylla, a princeſs of the houſe of Anjou, in whoſe right Guy de Luſignan had ruled the kingdom of Jeruſalem, her ſurviving ſiſter Iſabella claimed the ſovereignty, and inſiſted on Guy's reſigning it to her huſband Conrad, marquis of Montferrat. Guy alleged, that, after he had once been inveſted with the regal title, it could not be alienated from him; and, on that ground, refuſed to abdicate the throne. The competition of Guy and Conrad kindled the ſeeds of diſcord between Richard and Philip, Luſignan being ſupported by the former, and the marquis by the latter. After an acrimonious conteſt, it was ſtipulated, that Guy ſhould remain king during his life; that Conrad

16. Vinif. lib. iv. cap. 4.—Hoved. Ann. p. 397.

should be gratified with the principality of Tyre, and Guy's brother Geoffrey with the county of Jaffa. A. D. 1191.

These and other disputes tended to increase the malevolence which Philip had conceived against Richard; and the superior fame of the king of England added, to the rancor of resentment, emotions of unmanly jealousy. Philip, at the same time, was strongly influenced by views of ambition; and the earl of Flanders having died at the siege of Acra, he was eager to return to Europe, that he might reduce that province under his government. The same inordinate thirst of dominion prompted him to wish for an opportunity, while Richard should continue in Palestine, of subjugating some of that prince's territories. He had no sooner declared his intention of returning into France, on pretence of recovering his health, than all the leaders of the crusade endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose: but their remonstrances were utterly ineffectual; and he sailed for Europe before the close of the summer, leaving a great part of his army to prosecute the war against the infidels, under the command of the duke of Burgundy.

When Richard had repaired the walls and forts of Acra, he marched along the coast with views of further conquest, his fleet attending the progress of his army. Saladin, active and vigilant, observed his motions, and sought an occasion of attacking him with advantage. After several bloody skirmishes, a general engagement ensued near Jaffa, in which the troops of Saladin, being much superior in number to the Christians, and animated by the personal efforts of that able commander, at first prevailed over the utmost exertions of their adversaries; but the amazing valor and consummate ability of Richard turned the tide of victory against the Mohammedans, who were routed with great Sept. 7.

A. D. 1191. carnage [17]. Saladin now fled before the Chriſtian arms, and ordered all the fortified towns which he poſſeſſed in Paleſtine, except Jeruſalem and a few other places, to be diſmantled, that he might be better enabled to concentrate his force. Richard, arriving at Jaffa, found the fortifications ruined, and the town deſerted; and being informed that the infidels were treating Aſcalon in the ſame manner, he propoſed, in a council of war, that they ſhould inſtantly march towards that city, and deliver it from the ruinating hands of the enemy. His opinion being oppoſed by the duke of Burgundy and other noblemen in the French army, who had been inſtructed by Philip to thwart the views of Richard, he adopted their advice for the reſtoration of the walls and towers of Jaffa; an occupation which detained the cruſards near two months, when there was good reaſon to think that a vigorous proſecution of the late ſucceſs againſt Saladin would, in a great meaſure, have re-eſtabliſhed the Chriſtian affairs. Towards the approach of winter, Richard re-commenced warlike operations in the field; and occaſional ſkirmiſhes paſſed between his advanced parties and thoſe of the ſultan. A ſmart action took place between the two leaders in perſon, when Saladin was compelled to retire with conſiderable loſs. The infidel prince ſoon after propoſed terms of accommodation, which Richard rejected as diſadvantageous [18].

A. D. 1192. The following year exhibited a continuance of hoſtilities between the Chriſtian and Mohammedan powers, in which the genius of Richard prevailed. But the diſſenſions ſubſiſting between the different branches of the army of the croſs, tended to obſtruct the

17. Vinif. lib. iv.—Hoved. p. 397.—Bohaoddin Ebn Sheddad de Geſt. Sal. edit. Schult.—Abulfed. Chron. 18. Bohaodd. Ebn Shed.—Vinif. lib. iv.

ſchemes,

ſchemes, and diminiſh the hopes, of the king of England. A. D. 1192. The duke of Burgundy was deſirous of returning to Europe; the majority of the French barons inclined to the ſame reſolution; the German cruſards, headed by the ſon of Barbaroſſa, had become weary of the fatigues of a perilous warfare; and a general diſguſt to ſo romantic an enterpriſe had ſucceeded to the ardor and alacrity with which it had been commenced. The king of England, however, was ſtill bent on a continuance of the war; but he found it impracticable to overcome the united inclinations of ſo many of the confederates. He was eager to form the ſiege of Jeruſalem, the recovery of which was the principal object of the preſent cruſade. But the other Chriſtian leaders were unwilling to concur with him in that undertaking, the difficulties of which they repreſented in ſtrong colors; and though a multitude of the inferior cruſards cheriſhed an ardent deſire of attempting the re-capture of the holy city, the majority of the nobles, in a council of war, determined on retreating to Aſcalon, from the vicinity of Jeruſalem, to which they had already advanced. Their retreat was attended with diſcouraging circumſtances; they were haraſſed with violent ſtorms, and labored under a ſcarcity of proviſions. At Aſcalon, they were occupied for ſome months in repairing the fortifications; and, during that period, the conteſt for the crown of Jeruſalem was renewed between Guy de Luſignan and the marquis of Montferrat; and ſome ſkirmiſhes even enſued at Acra between the cruſards on each ſide. While theſe diſſenſions revived the hopes of the infidels, the proſpect of Richard's departure gave them ſtill greater encouragement; for this prince was conſidered, both by his friends and enemies, as the ſoul of the Chriſtian army. Having received alarming intelligence of the

A. D. 1192. disordered state of his kingdom, he expressed his wishes of returning thither without delay. Being requested to determine the controversy between Guy and Conrad, he declined the decision, and referred it to the council, who, contrary to his inclinations, declared in favor of the marquis. To console Guy for the loss of a sovereignty which the arms of Saladin had nearly reduced to an empty title, he conferred on that prince the kingdom of Cyprus, the most important fruit of Richard's expedition. But before the crown of which Guy had been deprived was placed on the head of the marquis, he was murdered at Tyre by two emissaries of an Oriental *Scheich*, called by European writers *the lord of the mountain*, who made it an established point of policy to avenge, by assassination, such insults or injuries as he or his subjects might have received from any person whatever. This murder was ascribed, by the calumniators of Richard, to the secret directions of that monarch; though the Scheich himself, in a circular letter which he sent to the princes of Europe, avowed the act as the offspring of his revenge for the severity of Conrad towards one of his people, who had been deprived of his life by order of the marquis [19].

The earl of Champagne, by espousing the widow of Conrad, procured the throne of Jerusalem; and, by his means, harmony was in part restored among the crusards, who resolved to besiege the holy city. But, when they had advanced within a few miles of it, dissensions again broke out; and Richard returned to Acra, with an intention of embarking for Europe. Hearing, however, that Saladin had invested Jaffa

19. Vinis. lib. v. — Dicet. — Walt. Hemingf. — Bohaoddin Ebn Sheddad, the Arabian biographer of Saladin, affirms, that Richard hired the two assassins to dispatch the marquis, though it was well understood, both in Europe and Asia, that he had no concern in that vindictive act.

with

with a numerous army, he haſtened to the relief of the garriſon, and defeated the ſultan with no ſmall ſlaughter. He ſoon after obtained another victory over the enemy; but a violent indiſpoſition now compelled him to remain inactive. The deſire of return at length prompted him to conſent to a truce with Saladin, for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours. It was ſtipulated between them, that Aſcalon ſhould be diſmantled; that the Chriſtians ſhould retain their preſent poſſeſſions in Paleſtine, and ſhould be permitted to viſit the holy ſepulchre, and other curioſities in the city of Jeruſalem, without paying any tribute. To theſe conditions the principal nobility on each ſide ſwore; and an amicable intercourſe immediately commenced between the Chriſtians and Mohammedans throughout Syria and Judea[20]. A. D. 1192.

During the abſence of Richard from England, great diſorders had prevailed in that kingdom. Longchamp, biſhop of Ely, had conducted the adminiſtration in ſo oppreſſive a manner, that he had excited the univerſal odium of the people. As chancellor, chief juſticiary, and guardian of the realm, he governed the laity with deſpotic rigor; and, as legate of the holy ſee, he domineered over the clergy. The former, ſays an old hiſtorian, found him more than a king; and the latter, more than a pope. The biſhop of Durham, who had been appointed his collegue, was treated by this upſtart with extraordinary inſolence, being compelled to reſign his caſtles, as well as the earldom which he had purchaſed of the king, and to deſiſt from the aſſumption of any ſhare in the government. Regardleſs of the public indignation, Longchamp continued to act like the independent ſovereign of an arbitrary monarchy. He diſdained the control of a council; he

20. Bohaodd. Ebn Shed.—Viniſ. lib. vi.—Walt. Hemingf. lib. ii.

pillaged

A. D. 1192. pillaged the ſubject at his pleaſure; he rendered juſtice venal; he ſold all public employments; he diſguſted all ranks by that haughtineſs and arrogance which are ſo frequent among thoſe who have riſen from a low ſtation to a height of dignity and pre-eminence. Complaints of his unjuſtifiable conduct having reached the ears of Richard, while he reſided at Meſſina, he had given a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of Rouen, and four temporal peers, to act as privy counſellors to Longchamp, who was ordered to adopt no important meaſure without their concurrence. But neither the archbiſhop, nor his nominal collegues, had the courage to produce the royal mandate before the chancellor [21], whoſe deſpotiſm had ſpread a general terror over the nation. He was at length involved in a conteſt with John earl of Mortagne, who ſuſpected him of cheriſhing deſigns prejudicial to his ſucceſſion, in the event of the king's dying without iſſue. Longchamp having deprived of their caſtles many perſons whom he did not conſider as his friends, and put them into the hands of his own creatures, John was greatly alarmed at proceedings which darkened his proſpect of gaining the crown, as he concluded that the chancellor, if Richard ſhould not ſurvive the cruſade, was diſpoſed to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the duke of Bretagne, during whoſe minority he might continue to rule the kingdom at his will. To check the career of Longchamp, John took up arms, ſeiſed the royal caſtles of Nottingham and Tikehill, and ſent a meſſage to the chancellor, threatening that he would viſit him with a rod of iron, if he ſhould not immediately deſiſt from the violent appropriation of fortreſſes to himſelf and his friends. Appalled by the firmneſs of John, who ſeemed to be well ſupported, the regent relinquiſhed the ſiege of

21. Hoved. p. 391.—Dicet. col. 659.

Lincoln,

Lincoln, which he had lately undertaken, and consented to a compromiſe with the prince. He propoſed that the latter ſhould reſign the two caſtles which he had ſeiſed, and that, if the king ſhould die in his peregrination, theſe and other royal forts ſhould be delivered into the hands of John. By this compact, the prince's apprehenſions were allayed for the preſent; and the chancellor reſumed his courſe of tyranny and oppreſſion. But his imprudence prompting him to a groſs act of violence againſt the perſon of Geoffrey, archbiſhop of York, his power was brought to a cloſe. That prelate, having received conſecration at Tours, haſtened to take poſſeſſion of his ſee, and had no ſooner landed at Dover than he was ſeiſed by order of Longchamp, who pretended that he had not been diſcharged from his oath of abſence. Geoffrey, eſcaping from his guards, took refuge in the monaſtery of St. Martin, where he was blockaded till, by ſubſequent inſtructions from the chancellor, he was dragged from the altar, and impriſoned with his clerical retinue in the caſtle of Dover. This conduct towards a dignified churchman, whoſe merit had rendered him extremely popular, rouſed the general reſentment of the public. Such an invaſion of the privileges of a ſacred aſylum, in the caſe of a perſon who had committed no crime, could not but excite the indignation of the eccleſiaſtical body; and ſo flagrant an outrage on the liberty of the ſubject was naturally reprobated by the laity. Some of the biſhops excommunicated all who were concerned in the tranſaction; while others threatened the realm with an interdict, if the regent ſhould refuſe to Geoffrey an immediate releaſe. John, pleaſed with an opportunity of effecting the diſgrace of Longchamp, fomented the public clamor, and having commanded that miniſter to liberate the archbiſhop, procured

A. D. 1192.

A. D. 1192. cured a meeting of the ſtates at Reading, to which the chancellor was ſummoned. He releaſed Geoffrey, but diſregarded the ſummons for his attendance. The commiſſion which Richard had ſent from Meſſina, was now produced; and the archbiſhop of Rouen, with his four collegues, entered upon the affairs of government. Another monition for the appearance of Longchamp was equally neglected; and that obnoxious governor, apprehenſive of the violence of his enemies, ſheltered himſelf within the tower of London, after having ſkirmiſhed in his way with the troops of prince John. At a great council aſſembled in the metropolis, which ſome of the citizens were permitted to attend, Longchamp was impeached of various infractions of the laws, and deprived of his civil employments. Being unprovided againſt a long ſiege, he ſurrendered the fortreſs to which he had fled; and, on ſwearing that he would not quit the kingdom till he had delivered up ſuch caſtles as were demanded of him, he was ſuffered to retire from London. Having no intention of adhering to his oath, he endeavoured to eſcape to the continent in a female habit; but being diſcovered by the populace of Dover, he was treated with a variety of inſults, and detained in cuſtody, till an order came from the archbiſhop of Rouen for his being permitted to croſs the ſea[22].

On his arrival in Normandy, he procured from pope Celeſtine III. a renewal of his legatine commiſſion (which had lately expired with the life of the donor), as well as an order for the excommunication of the earl of Mortagne and his confederates. This bull, however, was totally diſregarded; and the government ſequeſtered the rents of Longchamp's biſhopric, towards the repayment of the public money which he

22. Dicet. col. 665.—Hoved. ad ann. 1191.—Matth. Par.

had

had ſquandered in his oſtentation of princely magnificence. He attempted, however, to return to England, that he might exerciſe his legatine powers; but, ſoon after his landing, a council was aſſembled, in which he was declared a diſturber of the peace of the nation, and ordered to re-embark for the continent without delay. Enraged at this treatment, he put his own dioceſe under an interdict, and re-croſſed the channel with great expedition. He made other efforts to embroil the affairs of the government from which he was excluded; and, in this reſpect, he promoted the purpoſes of the king of France, who, having exchanged the hazards of the holy war for the proſecution of his ambitious and vindictive views in Europe, longed for an occaſion of encroaching on the dominions of Richard. That envious monarch, paſſing through Italy in his return, had viſited the pope, and made warm complaints againſt the king of England, whoſe behaviour he repreſented as the cauſe of his early departure from Paleſtine. Though he had renewed, before he left the Holy Land, his declarations of amity to Richard, he had forgotten them as ſoon as he had reached his native country; and, though the pope had refuſed to releaſe him from the ſtipulations by which he had bound himſelf to a forbearance of hoſtility, he cheriſhed deſigns the moſt perfidious, and the moſt inimical to the proſperity of his rival. He demanded the Vexin Normand with eager importunity; but the ſeneſchal of Normandy treated his requiſition with contempt. He would have invaded that duchy with views of conqueſt, if his barons, more honorable than himſelf, had not declined a ſhare in an enterpriſe ſo repugnant both to his and to their engagements. He endeavoured to draw the earl of Mortagne into a confederacy againſt his brother; but the expoſtulations of A.D. 1192.

queen

A. D. 1192. queen Eleanor, and the firmneſs and vigilance of the chief juſticiaries, contributed to reſtrain that prince, for a ſhort interval, within the boundaries of moderation [23].

While Philip was planning theſe ungenerous ſchemes, Richard was preparing for his departure from a region which he had filled with the fame of his liberality, and with the glory of his martial exploits. He embarked at Acra, amidſt the regrets and benedictions of multitudes who lined the ſhore. Having ſent the greater part of his fleet before him, he ſailed with a ſmall ſquadron, and, after an unpleaſant voyage, was wrecked near Aquileia. To avoid the riſque of captivity, he began his progreſs through Germany in diſguiſe; for he ſuſpected danger either from the avarice or the reſentment of Leopold duke of Auſtria, whom he had ſlightly offended during the cruſade, or of the emperor Henry VI. who had contracted ſome animoſity againſt him for his alliance with the uſurper of the Sicilian crown, to which that prince himſelf had a valid claim in right of his wife. The liberality of Richard's expenditure ſoon led to a diſcovery of his perſon; eight of his attendants were ſeiſed by one of the vaſſals of the empire; ſix were afterwards apprehended; and though the royal wanderer eſcaped on theſe two occaſions, he had a very tranſitory opportunity of ſelf-congratulation; for, the ſuſpicions of Leopold's guards being arouſed by the oſtentatious behaviour of one of his three remaining ſervants, whom he had ſent to purchaſe proviſions, the domeſtic was ſeiſed, and compelled, by furious menaces, to diſcover his maſter. The duke's emiſſaries inſtantly repaired to the place to which they were directed, and found the
Dec. 20. king ſleeping in a wretched hut, in a village near

23. Benedict. Abb. tom. ii.—Hoved.

Vienna,

Vienna. Prompted by the moſt illiberal motives, Leopold threw the monarch into priſon, and loaded him with fetters, as if he had been a villainous delinquent [24]. A. D. 1192.

Such was the unworthy treatment which an illuſtrious champion of the croſs received, in an age when it was regarded as the moſt meritorious of all poſſible acts to fight the battles of Chriſtianity, and when the perſons as well as dominions of thoſe who had engaged in that glorious cauſe were deemed ſacred from all injury, till the completion of their pilgrimage. The misfortune of Richard's captivity was peculiarly enhanced by the danger which threatened his territories, from the arms and intrigues of a potent and politic monarch, and the traitorous machinations of an ambitious and ungrateful brother.

24. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv.—Epiſt. Henrici Imper. apud Hoved. p. 410.—Matth. Par.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Prince John endeavours to deprive the captive Richard of his crown.—The king of France invades Normandy;—but is unable to reduce it to his obedience.—Richard is releaſed after a year's confinement.—He pardons his rebellious brother.—He repels the hoſtilities of the French king.—London is diſturbed by violent ſeditions.—The king dies of a wound which he received at the ſiege of Chalus.—His character.

A. D. 1193. THOUGH the captivity of a ſovereign is always detrimental to the affairs of his dominions, that of Richard did not prove ſo unfortunate in it's conſequences as might have been apprehended from the advantage which ſuch an event was calculated to give to his enemies. It elevated, without ſatisfying, the hopes of Philip Auguſtus and prince John: it prompted them to immediate efforts for the accompliſhment of their perfidious aims, but did not give them thoſe ample benefits which they expected to derive from the ſudden calamity of Richard.

The emperor was no ſooner informed of the ſeiſure of the king of England, than he purchaſed the transfer of ſo valuable a priſoner by the promiſe of a great part of the expected ranſom to the duke of Auſtria. He then communicated the important intelligence to the king of France, who, he was confident, would receive it with tranſport. Before this event, Philip had ſent an ambaſſy to Canute V. king of Denmark, demanding in marriage the ſiſter of that monarch, requeſting, by way of dowry, the reſignation of the ancient claim of the Daniſh princes to the crown of England,

land, and further desiring the aid of a fleet and army for the effectual vindication of that claim [1]. Canute having consented to the match, though on no other conditions than those of a pecuniary portion, Philip had espoused the princess; but, having quickly divorced her on pretence of consanguinity between her and his former wife, he courted an alliance with the family of the emperor, by offering his hand to that prince's cousin, the daughter of the count-palatine of the Rhine. Henry acquiesced in the proposal; but the lady herself, having heard of Philip's treatment of the Danish princess, rejected the offer with scorn, and threw herself into the arms of Henry of Saxony, nephew to the king of England. Philip's disappointment in that branch of his solicitations which respected a matrimonial connexion with the imperial family, served only to sharpen his eagerness of negotiation with Henry. He endeavoured, by liberal promises, to prevail on the emperor to deliver up Richard to him, or detain him in perpetual imprisonment. At the same time, that he might inspire a belief of the propriety of his resentment against the English monarch, he instituted a corps of guards, whom he armed with brazen maces, for the ostensible purpose of defending his life against the attempts of the emissaries of Richard, who, he pretended, had assassinated the marquis of Montferrat, and designed a similar revenge on his Gallic enemy. By these calumnious arts, he strove to conceal the deformity of his own conduct, in seeking the ruin of a prince against whom he had no well-founded reason of resentment, and to whom, while he wore the cross, he was bound by solemn ties of stipulated amity. But every judicious person was

A. D. 1193.

1. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv.

A. D. 1193. convinced of the futility of his allegations, and lamented his want of honor and generosity.

The earl of Mortagne, pleased with his brother's misfortune, prepared to take instant advantage of it. He conferred on the subject with the king of France, who readily invested him with the foreign dominions of Richard, after the earl had engaged to cede to him a part of Normandy. Philip agreed to assist John not only in subduing his brother's transmarine provinces, but also in the reduction of England [2].

The consternation which seised the English justiciaries when the report of their sovereign's detention reached their ears, may easily be conceived. They dreaded the effects of Philip's intrigues with John; they foresaw the probability of the defection of many of Richard's subjects; they apprehended either a long confinement of the king, or an exorbitant ransom for his speedy deliverance. Queen Eleanor addressed an epistle to the pope, conjuring him to exert his spiritual authority against all the enemies of her son, who, as a crusard, had a manifest claim to the protection of the holy see. Finding Celestine tardy in his operations, she endeavoured to kindle his ardor by repeated letters, which at length extorted from him a general mandate to the prelates of England for excommunicating such as should disturb the peace of the realm, or oppose the interests of the captive king.

Richard, in the mean time, sustained, with the utmost fortitude, the miseries of a rigorous confinement. He received, with an air of dignified cheerfulness, two abbots who had been sent to him by the guardians of his kingdom; and, though he expressed some concern at the treachery of prince John, he consoled himself

2. Hoved. p. 412.—Rym. Fœd. vol. i.

by

by reflecting, that his brother was not deſtined by nature for a conqueror, and might be baffled by a trivial oppoſition. The king afterwards appeared before an imperial council at Worms, to which he had been ſummoned to anſwer for his conduct. He was accuſed by the emperor of having abetted the uſurper of Sicily; of having waged an unjuſt war againſt the king of Cyprus, a Chriſtian potentate, with arms intended for the chaſtiſement of infidels; of having procured the murder of the marquis of Montferrat; of having formed deſigns againſt the life of his ſovereign lord the king of France, whom he had driven from Paleſtine by a ſeries of injuries; of having groſly affronted the duke of Auſtria; and, finally, of having betrayed the Chriſtian cauſe by his convention with Saladin. In reply to theſe accuſations, Richard delivered a perſpicuous, animated, and eloquent harangue, by which he convinced the aſſembly of his own innocence, and the malice of his calumniators [3]. Henry himſelf ſeemed to feel the ſudden impulſe of generoſity and compaſſion; and the interpoſition of the princes of the empire, the remonſtrances of the pope, and the avidity of the emperor for a participation of Engliſh opulence, at length produced an agreement, that, as ſoon as the king ſhould have paid 100,000 marks, he ſhould be reſtored to his liberty, on giving hoſtages for the additional payment of 50,000 [4]. A. D. 1193.

Before the concluſion of this compact, the king of France had commenced hoſtilities by an invaſion of the Norman duchy. Partly by force, and partly by the treachery of Richard's officers, he gained poſſeſſion of Giſors and other fortreſſes, and then advanced to Rouen, where his triumphant progreſs was checked by

3. Matth. Par. p. 166, 167.—Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv.
4. Hoved. p. 414.

A. D. 1193. the loyal valor of the earl of Leiceſter, who had lately returned from the cruſade with the reputation of an eminent warrior. The repeated aſſaults of the beſiegers were ſo unſucceſsful, that they retired from the walls with loſs and diſgrace. This diſappointment, concurring with the pope's threats of an interdict on France, inclined Philip to conſent to a truce, which the guardians of the duchy purchaſed with the promiſe of 20,000 marks [5].

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, Philip's ally, prince John, who had returned to England with a corps of foreigners, and expected the landing of a copious reinforcement, reduced the caſtles of Wallingford and Windſor, and proceeding to London, pretended that the king was dead, and required the juſticiaries to put him in immediate poſſeſſion of the Engliſh ſovereignty. They rejected his demand with that indignation which his falſehood and treachery deſerved; and prepared to oppoſe the rebellious prince with vigor and diſpatch. He met with little ſucceſs in his attempts to ſeduce the nobility from their allegiance to his brother; the exertions of the juſticiaries diſconcerted his ſchemes; and the coaſts were ſo carefully guarded, that none of his expected auxiliaries ventured to land in England, except a ſmall number, who were inſtantly ſeiſed and impriſoned. Finding himſelf unable to make head againſt the faithful ſubjects of Richard, he propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms; which being granted, he croſſed the channel, and joined his royal confederate [6].

Hubert biſhop of Saliſbury now arrived in England, with letters from the king, ſoliciting the contributions of his people for his ranſom. The juſticiaries immedi-

5. Hoved. Ann.—Rym. Fœd. tom. i. 6. Hoved.—Chron. Gervaſ.

ately

ately gave orders for levying a certain ſum on every knight's fee throughout the realm, to which, by the feudal ſyſtem, a ſuperior lord was entitled for his deliverance from captivity. A tax was alſo raiſed on boroughs; the barons, both ſpiritual and temporal, were requeſted by the government to contribute a fourth part of their revenues for one year; the Ciſtertian monks, who had uſually been exempt from former taxations, were commanded to give up one year's wool; the plate and treaſures of the churches were drawn from their ſacred receptacles, under a promiſe of reimburſement; the parochial clergy voluntarily beſtowed a tenth part of their tithes; and the ſpontaneous bounties of many opulent individuals at length completed the ſum which the emperor was to receive before the diſmiſſion of his priſoner [7]. This money was conveyed into Germany by the queen-dowager and the archbiſhop of Rouen, who, at their departure from England, left the adminiſtration in the hands of Hubert, lately tranſlated from the ſee of Saliſbury to that of Canterbury, and promoted, by the friendſhip of his captive maſter, to the rank of chief juſticiary. A. D. 1193.

Though the emperor had fixed a day for the liberation of Richard, there was ſome danger of his not adhering to his engagements, as the king of France and the earl of Mortagne were carrying on an infamous negotiation with that ſordid potentate, to whom they offered ample rewards for the further detention of his captive [8]. Theſe offers induced Henry to recede from his determination, and fix a later day, that he might have time to deliberate maturely on the propoſitions of Philip and John. When the appointed day arrived, he put into Richard's hands the letters which he had

7. R. de Dicet. col. 671.—Ann. Waverl. p. 164.—Hoved.—Remingf. 8. Hoved. p. 417.

A. D. 1194. received from thoſe princes; and the peruſal of them filled the king with apprehenſions of a longer confinement. But the expoſtulations of the German princes aſſembled on the occaſion, prevailed over the avarice of the emperor; and he not only diſcharged the king of England from his impriſonment, but beſtowed on him the kingdom of Arles, to which the head of the empire had ſome pretenſions; a preſent which Henry would not have conferred, if he had not found the inhabitants of that territory ſo obſtinate in rejecting his authority, that he had been obliged to relinquiſh his intentions of reducing them. When the firſt payment had been made to the emperor, the archbiſhop of Rouen and other diſtinguiſhed ſubjects of Richard were delivered up as hoſtages for the liquidation of the remainder of the ranſom; and the king was preſented

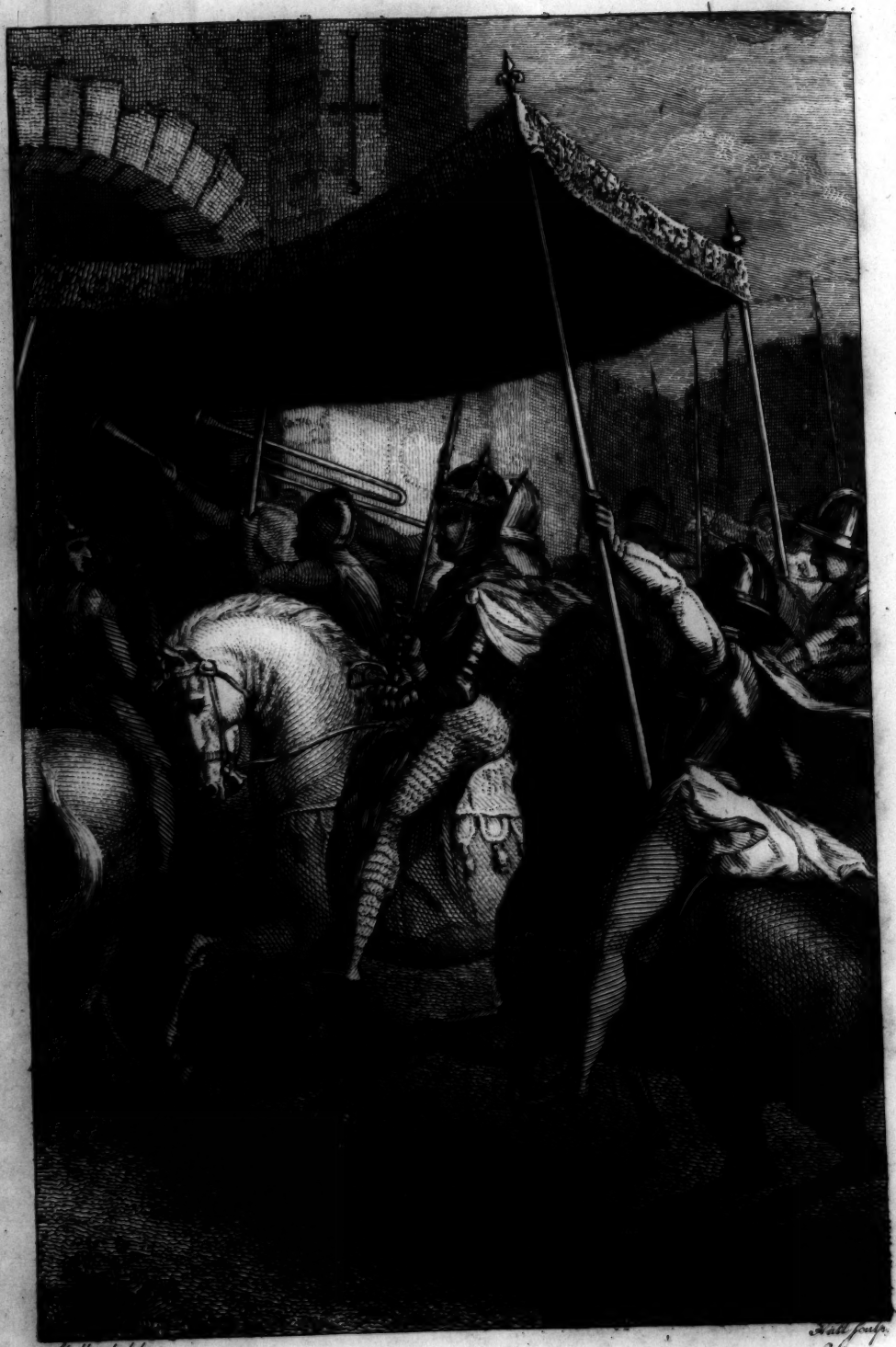
Feb. 4. to his mother, after a captivity of near fourteen months. Henry is ſaid to have repented of his rejection of the propoſals of the French king, and to have even iſſued orders for ſtopping Richard in his return [9]; but, before the imperial emiſſaries had reached Antwerp, the releaſed monarch had embarked for England.

The long abſence of Richard from his kingdom, the glory of his oriental exploits, and the compaſſion which his rigorous impriſonment had excited, inſpired the Engliſh with all the eagerneſs of expectation, when the day of his releaſe arrived. To their extreme ſatisfaction, he diſembarked in perfect ſafety at Sandwich, whence he repaired on foot to the cathedral of Canterbury, and returned thanks to Heaven, at the ſhrine of St. Thomas Becket, for the happy termination of his misfortunes. He was received in his capital with the warmeſt congratulations. The citizens, as ſoon as they had heard of his landing, had made extraordinary pre-

9. Gul. Neubrig.—Walt. Hemingf.

parations

BRITISH
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MUSEUM



Stothard del.

Hall sculp.

The Triumphal Entry of Richard I. into London.

Publish'd as the Act directs Feb.y 21: 1791 by C. Stalker.

parations for his triumphal entry; and ſuch was the glare of magnificence which the city then exhibited, that it afforded no ſmall gratification to Richard to find that his ranſom had not viſibly diminiſhed the wealth of his people, and at the ſame time filled the German nobles in his train with emotions of wonder and admiration [10]. A. D. 1194.

The king's firſt care, after his return, was directed to the ſuppreſſion of all remains of rebellion. The caſtle of Nottingham being in the poſſeſſion of John's adherents, he marched with an army to the ſiege of it, and reduced it in a few days. He then held a great council in that town, in which it was decreed, that, if the prince ſhould not preſent himſelf to judgment within forty days, he ſhould be deemed an outlaw, and all his eſtates in England ſhould be confiſcated. To recruit the exhauſted exchequer, it was enacted by the ſame aſſembly, that two ſhillings ſhould be immediately levied on every hide of land. A day was then appointed for the ſecond coronation of Richard; a meaſure which was partly adopted in compliance with the maxims of the Roman law, which conſidered a perſon's civil rights as deſtroyed by captivity, and partly with a view of ſanctioning his purpoſe of repealing ſuch acts of his earlier royalty as did not ſuit his preſent neceſſities. He was re-crowned with great ſplendor at Wincheſter, the king of Scotland aſſiſting at the ſolemnity. This prince was importunate in his ſolicitations to Richard for the ceſſion of the counties of Lancaſter, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland; but theſe demands, being ill-founded and unſeaſonable, were not granted; and the only favor which he could obtain was a charter, by which Richard engaged to allow him and his ſucceſſors a April 17.

10. Gul. Neubrig. lib. iv.—Matth. Par. p. 169.

A. D. 1194. certain sum for their expences in attending the national councils of England [11].

Richard now resumed the royal demesnes which he had sold before his expedition to Palestine, alleging that they were necessary for the support of his dignity, that the purchasers had already derived sufficient profit from them, and that it would be unjust in a subject to receive exorbitant interest for money advanced to supply the exigencies of his sovereign. Not content with these revocations, he condescended to employ various arts for the acquisition of money; and, in particular, cajoled the Cistertians into the surrender of another year's wool [12].

On hearing of the release of the English monarch, Philip was greatly displeased and alarmed, as his schemes of conquest instantly vanished. He desired prince John, by letter, to take care of himself, "as "the *devil* was at liberty." He violated the truce on this occasion, and renewed his incursions into Normandy, where he reduced the city of Evreux. To repel the attempts of his rancorous enemy, Richard passed over to the continent as soon as he had settled the affairs of his kingdom; and, from the animosity which he must have felt against Philip, as well as from the determined resolution of the latter to distress his rival, there was reason to expect a vigorous war. But it proved, in effect, very unimportant, and resembled, in it's detail, those petty wars which we have frequently had occasion to mention, as occurring in the

11. The sums assigned by this charter were the following, *viz.* 100 shillings *per diem* from the Scottish king's entrance on the borders till his arrival at the place of meeting; 30*l.* *per diem* during his attendance in parliament, (exclusive of a regular allowance of cakes, wine, candles, &c.) and 100*l.* *per diem* in his return, till he reached the Tweed. *Hoveden's Annals.* 12. Gul. Neubrig. lib. v. cap. i.

twelfth

twelfth century between the kings of England and France. A. D. 1194.

Richard, ſoon after his landing in Normandy, was gratified with the ſubmiſſions of prince John, who, deſpairing of the ſucceſs of reſiſtance, threw himſelf at his brother's feet, and implored his forgiveneſs with exterior penitence. By the mediation of their mother, the two princes were reconciled; and John ſerved in the enſuing campaign againſt the French, though Richard did not immediately reſtore to him any part of his confiſcated eſtates [13].

The fame of Richard's approach diſcouraged the French king from continuing the ſiege of Verneuil, in which he had been for ſome time employed. He now ſecretly retired from his camp; and his army following him in a few days, the Engliſh made a warm purſuit. Of the events of this campaign it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the advantage was on the ſide of Richard, who routed the enemy at Frettevalle, ſlew many of the fugitives, and ſeiſed the treaſures and baggage of Philip and his attendant barons [14]. Before this action, the loyalty of the citizens of Evreux had influenced them to expel the garriſon which Philip had placed in the caſtle; an act which ſo enraged that monarch, that he returned to the town, ſlew many of the inhabitants, and nearly deſtroyed the place by fire [15]. The French monarch

13. Hoved. p. 421.—Matth. Par. p. 169.

14. As it was cuſtomary for the French kings to carry their records with them during their journeys either in peace or war, the loſs which Philip now ſuſtained muſt have been conſiderable, and is lamented by Mezeray as very prejudicial to the earlier hiſtory of France.

15. Hoved. p. 421.—Gul. Neubrig. lib. v.—The French hiſtorians, and ſome of the later Engliſh ones, accuſe prince John of having accompanied his ſubmiſſion to his brother with the perpetration of a moſt atrocious deed at Evreux. They relate, that, with a view of evincing the

A. D. 1194. monarch flying before him, Richard haſtened into Aquitaine, which had become the ſeat of a partial rebellion. He reduced the caſtles of the revolters with his uſual celerity; took an extraordinary number of priſoners; and reſtored the tranquillity of the province. An armiſtice was then concluded between the two kings, till the autumn in the ſucceeding year [16].

July 23.

Thus relieved from the agitations of war, Richard gave a diligent attention to civil concerns, particularly to thoſe of his revenue. He ſent commiſſioners into all the counties of England, to make a ſtrict inquiſition into the debts due to the crown, as well as into the conduct of his officers. He ordered them to be very particular in their inquiries with reſpect to the Jews, that he might know to what extent he might tax that ſect for the ſupport of his government. He cauſed a new great ſeal to be made, that he might have a pretence for calling in all charters, patents, and other inſtruments, and exacting new fees for a freſh ſignature. When he had raiſed a ſufficient ſum to pay that ſhare of his ranſom which the duke of Auſtria was to receive, he was preparing to ſend it over to that prince, when he was ſurpriſed with the appearance of the hoſtages who had been left in the duke's hands, by whom intelligence was brought, that Leopold, having met with a violent contuſion on his foot

the ſincerity of his return to his allegiance, he invited the officers of the French garriſon to an entertainment, and put them to the ſword with the moſt inhoſpitable barbarity; then maſſacred the remainder of the garriſon, and delivered up the place to Richard. But, as this affair is unmentioned by the Engliſh writers of thoſe times, and is in itſelf extremely improbable, notwithſtanding the infamous character of John, we have ſtrong grounds for diſputing the validity of the report, which perhaps aroſe from the probable co-operation of the prince with the citizens in the expulſion of the French garriſon.

16. Hoved p. 422.—Matth. Par. p. 170.

during

during the exercises of a tournament, had died of the gangrene which ensued; that, on the approach of death, he had commanded the release of the English hostages, and the remission of his share of the king's ransom; and that, though his successor was averse to the execution of his injunctions, he had at length been prevailed on by his clergy to acquiesce in them. Richard, who wished to apply his pecuniary levies to other purposes, was highly pleased with this information; and he endeavoured to procure similar terms from the emperor, who, desirous of cultivating his friendship, sent an ambassy to his court, with the present of a golden crown, (in allusion to the grant of the kingdom of Arles), and with the proposal of a confederacy against the king of France. Though Richard was inclined to such an union, he was unwilling to trust Henry, with whose duplicity and want of integrity he was not unacquainted. He therefore sent Longchamp to that prince's court, to gain an insight into his real views; and finding, from the report of his envoy, no encouragement to enter into an alliance with Henry, he desisted from his negotiations with him, and recovered his hostages by paying the remainder of his ransom [17].

A. D. 1194.

A. D. 1195.

The overtures between Richard and the emperor, being discovered by Philip, served him as a pretext for renewing the war before the expiration of the truce. The inconvenience of garrisoning the Norman castles which he had taken, induced him to dismantle the greater part of them; and he was proceeding to treat Vaudreuil in this manner, when Richard appeared with an army to prevent such demolition. Philip, not disconcerted, proposed a conference with the enemy; and while they were adjusting the terms of an accom-

17. Hoved.—Gul. Neubrig.

modation,

A. D. 1195. modation, a part of the walls of Vaudreuil fell with a violent crash, to the surprise and indignation of Richard, who, thus convinced of the treachery of Philip, prepared to chastise him by an immediate engagement, which, however, the French avoided by a rapid retreat. After a campaign of petty incidents, the principal of which was the destruction of the town of Dieppe and of a small fleet belonging to Richard,

A. D. 1196. Jan. 14. a peace was concluded at Louviers between the two monarchs, Philip agreeing to resign all his late conquests, except the Vexin Normand[18].

During the king's absence from his English dominions, archbishop Hubert governed the realm with prudence and vigor; but his efforts could not prevent the occasional tumults of those licentious times. Frequent riots and depredations disgraced the police of London; the poorer inhabitants were in a state of constant warfare with the more opulent citizens; and confederacies were formed which defied the interposition of the magistrates. A professor of the law, named William Fitz-Osbert, commonly styled *Long-beard*, had acquired uncommon influence among the inferior people; and, by complaining of the oppressions which the indigent suffered in the article of taxation, and supporting their interests on every occasion, he had procured the title of *saviour of the poor*. He encouraged them to insult and plunder the superior citizens; and daily outrages were committed by the numerous freebooters who had ranged themselves under his banners. Being cited before the archbishop and council, he condescended to make his appearance; but was attended by such a number of desperate ruffians, that Hubert thought proper to dismiss him, and to wait for an opportunity of crushing him. At length he sent a

18. Hoved. p. 435.—Matth. Par. p. 174.

party

party of armed men to ſeiſe Fitz-Oſbert, who, after killing one of them, eſcaped with his concubine, and ſome of his accomplices, into the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, where he defended himſelf for ſome time againſt the ſoldiers of the government. Theſe at length forcing him from his retreat, he was dragged to the Tower, and being there tried and condemned, he was carried to the Elms, and executed without delay. Eight of his confederates were hanged at the ſame time. So confounded were the populace by the ſpirit of the regency, that they did not attempt to reſcue him from the hands of his guards: but, after his death, they teſtified their veneration for his memory, by repreſenting him as a martyr, preſerving fragments of the gibbet on which he ſuffered, and aſcribing miracles to his remains. The puniſhment of theſe rioters, ſeconded by the more vigilant attention of the government, rendered diſturbances much leſs frequent in the metropolis [19]. A. D. 1196.

The two kings ſoon repented of the peace to which they had agreed; but Philip was the firſt who infringed it. Taking advantage of ſome commotions which employed the arms of Richard in Bretagne, he invaded Normandy within a few months from the ratification of the treaty, and reduced the caſtle of Albemarle. This act of hoſtility re-kindled the war between the rival princes; but, from the diſinclination of many of their barons to a ſtate of perpetual warfare, it was carried on with little vigor, though with much animoſity on the part of the contending monarchs. The incidents which occurred in the courſe of it are unworthy of detail; and it is only neceſſary to inform the reader, that it continued, with ſome intermiſſions, till

19. Gervaſ. col. 1591.—Hoved. p. 435.—Matth. Par. p. 174, 175.—R. de Dicet.

the

A. D. 1197. the autumn in the following year, when a year's truce was agreed on [20].

One cauſe of the inertneſs of the operations of this war, may have been the extraordinary dearth, and conſequent famine, which had prevailed in France and England for ſome years. This calamity not only rendered the ſupport of an army in the field difficult and expenſive, but contributed to the diminution of military force, by deſtroying a number of individuals, and producing a peſtilential contagion, which raged for ſix months with deſolating fury [21].

A. D. 1198. The war was renewed on the expiration of the truce, with an increaſe of exertion. Richard had procured the aid of his brother-in-law the count of Toulouſe, the duke of Louvain, and the earls of Flanders and Boulogne; and the power of theſe confederates gave him a good proſpect of ſucceſs againſt his royal antagoniſt. A ſpirited action enſued between the two kings near Vernon, in which Philip ſuſtained a far greater loſs than Richard, and was purſued by him to the gates of that fortreſs. In the ſame month, a more Sept. 28. important victory was obtained by the Engliſh prince, near Giſors. He attacked the French with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were ſoon thrown into diſorder, which was followed by a total rout. The vanquiſhed fled to Giſors, where their preſſure was ſo ſtrong upon the bridge, that it broke under them, to the deſtruction of ſome, and the great danger of Philip himſelf. Many French priſoners of rank were taken in this engagement; and the war then languiſhed into deſultory ravages [22].

20. Chron. Gervaſ. — Chron. Brompt. 21. Gul. Neubrig. lib. v.—Chron. Brompt.

22. Hoved. p. 444, 445.—Matth. Par. p. 186.—Annal. de Marg. p. 11.

Though Richard's allies did not act with great cordiality in his ſervice, Philip was diſcouraged at the ſtrength of the confederacy againſt him, and therefore made overtures for a peace, to which Richard refuſed to agree, unleſs the vaſſals of France, who had aſſiſted him in the war, ſhould be comprehended in it; a condition which Philip rejected. The interference, however, of a papal legate, invited from Rome by the French king, produced a renewal of negotiation; and a truce was concluded for five years. But this armiſtice was in conſtant danger of infraction from the haughty and reſentful ſpirit of each of the kings, inclined as they were to ſupport the caſual complaints of their reſpective ſubjects, with regard to ſuppoſed encroachments on either ſide. Some miſunderſtandings of this kind occurring, which ſeemed likely to renew the war, the legate, ſeconded by the nobility on both ſides, propoſed a final adjuſtment of peace. The terms now ſtipulated were, that Philip ſhould reſign all the towns and forts which he had taken from Richard, except Giſors; that Blanche of Caſtile, niece of the king of England, ſhould be given in marriage to Lewis, the heir apparent of the French crown; and that Philip ſhould aſſiſt in eſtabliſhing Richard's nephew, Otho of Saxony, on the imperial throne, to which he had been lately elected [23]. The ratification of this convention was deferred till the return of Richard from an expedition which he had made into the Limoſin; but an accident intervened, which put a ſudden period to the life of that monarch.

A. D. 1198.

A. D. 1199.

One of his vaſſals having diſcovered a concealed treaſure on his eſtate, ſent a part of it to the king; but Richard, conſidering himſelf as entitled to the whole, demanded the ſurrender of the undivided prize.

23. Hoved. p. 449.

Vidomar,

A. D. 1199. Vidomar, the diſcoverer, refuſing to comply with a requiſition which he thought unreaſonable, Richard reſolved to adopt compulſive meaſures. Attended by a corps of Brabançons, he marched into the Limoſin, and beſieged Vidomar's caſtle of Chalus, where, he imagined, the treaſure was depoſited. The garriſon offered to deliver up the fortreſs, on condition of their being permitted to retire with their arms; but the king, inſtigated by the violence of his temper, declared that he would take the place by ſtorm. As he was ſurveying the caſtle in ſearch of a convenient ſpot for the aſſault, he received a wound in the left ſhoulder, from the ſhaft of a croſs-bow. He then mounted his horſe, with an air of unconcern; and, having given directions to Marcadée, the leader of his Brabançons, for an immediate aſſault, he returned to his head-quarters. The caſtle being taken by ſtorm, he ordered, as ſome hiſtorians relate, the execution of the whole garriſon, except Bertram de Gourdon, (the man who had aimed at his perſon); though others affirm, that he only commanded the confinement of the enemy. The unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeon gave fatal conſequences to a wound which might have been healed by an expert practitioner; and when the king deſpaired of his life, he ſent for Bertram, who boldly declared to him, that he had diſcharged the deſtructive arrow in revenge of the death of his father and his two brothers, whom Richard had killed with his own hands; adding, that he felt the moſt agreeable ſenſations when he reflected on the ſervice which he had done to the community, in arreſting the progreſs of one whoſe life had been productive of numerous evils to mankind. Richard admired the intrepidity of Gourdon; and being diſarmed of his uſual violence by the approach of death, granted a full pardon to his murderer, and even rewarded him with

with a pecuniary preſent [24]. The king did not long ſurvive this act of generoſity, but died with a contrite ſpirit, in the forty-ſecond year of his life, and the tenth of his reign [25]. A. D. 1199. April 6.

Richard's perſonal appearance was dignified and majeſtic. He was tall of ſtature, robuſt, and well-proportioned; his eyes were expreſſive, and his countenance pleaſing. The ſtrength of his arm was wonderfully great; an advantage which concurred with his remarkable activity to qualify him, in an eminent degree, for the functions of military exerciſe. In courage and preſence of mind, no prince ever excelled him; and his merit in the field, both as a ſoldier and a general, was ſo conſpicuous and undoubted, that he acquired a pre-eminent rank among the moſt celebrated warriors of an age which abounded in heroes. His fame reſounded through Europe and Aſia; and the great Saladin, though a rival and an enemy, expreſſed the higheſt opinion of his martial excellence [26]. Such was the terrific idea which the Mohammedans of Paleſtine conceived of this illuſtrious monarch, that they were accuſtomed to pacify their clamorous children by the mention of his name [27], as the French did, in ſubſequent times, with that of the duke of Marlborough.

24. Hoved. p. 449.—Brompt. Chron. col. 1277.—Marcadée would not ſuffer Gourdon to enjoy the benefit of the royal pardon; but gave a ſavage inſtance of his regret for the death of his maſter, by ordering the author of it to be flayed alive, and then hanged.

25. He directed, by his laſt will, that his brains and bowels ſhould be buried at Charroux in Poictou, his heart at Rouen, and his body at Fontevrault, near his father's feet. By Berengaria of Navarre, whom he had married in the iſle of Cyprus, he left no iſſue; and we only read of one illegitimate child of this prince, named Philip, who revenged his parent's fate by the maſſacre of Vidomar.

26. Vinif. Iter Hieroſ.

27. Hiſt. de St. Louis, par Joinville.

A. D. 1199. His natural capacity was brilliant; and the vigor of his underſtanding, the clearneſs of his faculties, and the ſtrength of his memory, have been highly extolled. He rivaled his father in eloquence, and was diſtinguiſhed by an eaſy flow of wit and pleaſantry. He even excelled in poetry; a talent rarely exerciſed by kings. As a politician, he was certainly inferior to his predeceſſor; and, indeed, his thirſt of military glory engroſſed his ſoul, and, by diminiſhing his attention to the affairs of civil government, prevented him from acquiring the reputation of a profound ſtateſman. If his judgment had been as ſound as ſome writers have inſinuated, he would hardly have engaged in that extravagant enterpriſe with which he commenced his royal career; nor would he, after an expenſive and unprofitable expedition, which precluded him from diſcharging his duty to his people, have formed the reſolution of renewing the war againſt the infidels of the Eaſt. To ſupport his luſt of war, and his profuſeneſs of expenditure, he burthened his ſubjects with impoſitions, for which the tranſcendent glory of his exploits could not be deemed a ſufficient recompence. Some of his modes of extortion were mean and diſgraceful; and though his munificence merits our approbation, we cannot but condemn that exceſs of it which led him into acts of rapacity.

The three vices of which he was accuſed by a cotemporary eccleſiaſtic, in a conference which he had with him, were pride, avarice, and voluptuouſneſs. He did not reſent this reproof; but obſerved, in reply to the propoſal of his parting with thoſe *three favorite daughters*, that he would diſpoſe of the firſt to the knights templars, of the ſecond to the Benedictine monks, and of the third to the prelates, being convinced that in ſuch hands they would be well ſupported.

His

His paſſions were warm and impetuous; and, in his deportment, he was vehement and overbearing; but frank, ſincere, and candid. He was impatient of affronts and injuries, and too much diſpoſed to retaliate them with ſeverity. Though ſome diſplays of clemency and magnanimity decorate the annals of his reign, other acts are alſo viſible, which indicate the occaſional prevalence of cruelty in his diſpoſition. His behaviour towards his father exhibited an example of ingratitude, which, though partly atoned by his ſubſequent remorſe, reflects little credit on the goodneſs of his heart. A. D. 1199.

CHAP. VII.

JOHN.

John earl of Mortagne uſurps the crown to the prejudice of his nephew Arthur.—The king of France eſpouſes the intereſts of the ſupplanted prince.—John takes Arthur priſoner in battle;—who is ſoon after murdered.—The French make a rapid conqueſt of John's territories on the continent.—This prince is involved in a rupture with the court of Rome.

A. D. 1199. SO many irregularities had occurred in the ſucceſſion to the Engliſh crown ſince the Conqueſt, that another inſtance of the ſame breach of order did not meet with much oppoſition. Arthur, the minor duke of Bretagne, was the lawful heir to his uncle Richard, as being the only ſon of that prince's brother Geoffrey, whoſe right, in preference to his younger brother John, devolved on his ſon and repreſentative Arthur, by the cuſtoms of the feudal law. The late king had acknowledged the Breton prince as his heir, in his treaty for the youth's marriage with the daughter of Tancred the Sicilian; and though he is ſaid to have altered that deſignation in favor of John, by a verbal will on his death-bed, there is ſome reaſon to think that ſuch a report was fabricated by the partiſans of the latter prince, who, during the whole reign of Richard, had openly aimed at the ſucceſſion. But, whether John was named by the dying monarch to ſucceed to the throne, or Richard ſtill adhered to the recognition of Arthur, it is certain that John took immediate meaſures for the acquiſition of the various territories which his



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his brother had poſſeſſed. Archbiſhop Hubert, and William earl of Pembroke or Strigul, being preſent on the continent at the deceaſe of Richard, were inſtantly deſired by the ſurviving brother to repair to England, to aſſiſt the chief juſticiary, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, in providing for his peaceable acceſſion. The claim of Arthur, who was unknown among the Engliſh, and too young to act for himſelf (being only twelve years of age), was ſo neglected, that the majority of the nation acquieſced in the pretenſions of his ambitious uncle, who had long ſecured a conſiderable party in his intereſts. While John's friends were exerting themſelves in England, he himſelf was employed in promoting his own cauſe among the continental ſubjects of his brother. Having ſeiſed Richard's treaſure at Chinon, he ſtrenuouſly labored to counteract the efforts of his nephew's adherents in Touraine, Maine, and Anjou; for the ſtates of thoſe provinces had lately aſſembled, and had unanimouſly recogniſed Arthur as their lord. The important city of Le Mans became the object of his vindictive fury. He quickly reduced the town and caſtle, demoliſhed the fortifications, raſed many of the buildings to the ground, and led a great number of the inhabitants into captivity. After this exploit, he ordered Marcadée to ravage Anjou, and haſtened to Rouen, where the archbiſhop inveſted him with the ducal ſword and coronet [1]. A. D. 1199. April 25.

In the mean time, thoſe Engliſh barons who were averſe to the ſovereignty of John, were prevailed on, by the promiſes of his friends in his name, to withdraw their oppoſition; and fealty was ſworn to that prince, though abſent, by the moſt conſiderable perſons throughout the realm. On his arrival in this kingdom, he took quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, and was

1. Hoved.—Matth. Par.

A. D. 1199. May 27. crowned by Hubert, whoſe ſervices he rewarded with a grant of the office of chancellor. He afterwards conferred various favors on his principal friends; but, when ſolicited by the king of Scotland, who preſumed on his merit in not oppoſing the acceſſion of John, to comply with his claim reſpecting the ſhires of Cumberland and Northumberland, he refuſed to acquieſce in the demand, and committed to a warlike baron the defence of thoſe frontier counties. His eagerneſs to wreſt from Arthur the provinces which had acknowledged his authority, induced him to haſten back to the continent within a few weeks after his coronation. Finding that the king of France had taken the prince under his protection, he endeavoured to detach that monarch from the intereſts of his youthful rival. But his efforts were unavailing; for Philip, full of jealouſy and ambition, deemed it a point of policy to oppoſe and embroil every ſucceſſive king of England, and therefore rejoiced at the opportunity of ſupporting the claims of John's competitor. In a conference between the two kings, Philip demanded, for the duke of Bretagne, the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Aquitaine, in addition to the three counties which had already ſubmitted to him. John rejected theſe propoſals without heſitation, and prepared for his defence againſt the expected hoſtilities of Philip. Several of the ſubſidiary allies of Richard, particularly the earl of Flanders, now offered their ſervices to John on the ſame terms; and a war immediately commenced. Philip invaded Normandy, and then turned his arms againſt Maine, where he ſeemed to act ſolely on his own account, without regard to his engagements with Arthur. Conſtance, the mother of the young duke, was alarmed at this conduct of the French king, and conſented, by the advice of the ſeneſchal of Maine, to throw herſelf

and

and her ſon upon the mercy of John, to whom ſhe delivered up the capital of that province. But, being appriſed of John's intentions of putting Arthur under confinement, ſhe renounced the alliance of that perfidious prince, and fled with her ſon to Angers. A ſhort truce was then agreed on between the two kings, by the mediation of a cardinal legate [2]. A. D. 1199.

The ſucceeding year reſtored peace to the contending monarchs, on theſe terms: that the town and county of Evreux, the Vexin Normand, and ſome fiefs in Berry, ſhould be ceded to Philip's ſon Lewis, in conſideration of his eſpouſing John's niece Blanche of Caſtile; that 30,000 marks ſhould be paid by John to the bridegroom; that neither of the contracting parties ſhould aſſiſt the rebellious vaſſals of the other; that Arthur ſhould do homage to John, as duke of Normandy, for Bretagne; and that John ſhould not afford any aid to his nephew, the emperor Otho, without the conſent of the French king [3]. A. D. 1200.

Having thus detached Philip from the ſupport of Arthur, John advanced with an army into Aquitaine, where he received the homage of the chief nobility. In his progreſs through this duchy, he decoyed Iſabella, the daughter of the count of Angouleſme, with her father's concurrence, out of the cuſtody of Hugh le Brun, count of La Marche, to whom ſhe had been betrothed. He procured a divorce from his queen, of whom his inconſtancy of temper had long rendered him weary; and immediately eſpouſed the fair Iſabella. This match rouſed the furious indignation of the count of La Marche, who proved an implacable enemy to the ungenerous purloiner of his wife. Returning to England in the autumn, John was again crowned

2. Hoved. p. 451, 452. —Rym. Fœd. tom. i.

3. Hoved. Ann.—Matth. Par.

A. D. 1200. at Weſtminſter, that his new wife might partake of that ſolemn ceremony; ſoon after which, he was gratified at Lincoln with the homage of the king of Scotland.

A. D. 1201. The enmity of the count of La Marche ſoon broke out into action. In concert with the count d'Eu and other powerful nobles, he kindled an inſurrection in Normandy and Aquitaine, which greatly alarmed the indolent John. He was ſtill more diſpleaſed when he was informed, that the barons whom he had ſummoned to attend at Portſmouth with their vaſſals, had declared their reſolution of not croſſing the ſea in his ſervice, till he had reſtored all the privileges to which by law they were entitled; a preſumptive proof that the adminiſtration of John had already tranſgreſſed the conſtitutional limits of the royal prerogative. The king, incenſed at their ſpirit, ſeiſed the caſtles of ſeveral of thoſe aſſertors of liberty, as pledges for their peaceable deportment; and, having prevailed on ſome to embark in the expedition, he exacted from others a pecuniary commutation of their perſonal attendance. He then ſent over a ſmall force into Normandy, to cooperate with the natives for the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity; and, not long after, he himſelf ſailed to the continent. As ſoon as he had conferred with the king of France, who cajoled him with pacific aſſurances, he proceeded towards Aquitaine, accompanied by ſome experienced champions, whom he had hired to engage in ſingle combat with the revolted barons, in caſe of their appealing to that ſuppoſed criterion of the juſtice of their claims. But, though they profeſſed a deſire of ſubmitting to the deciſion of John's court, they rejected the trial by duel, except with their equals, and warmly reſented the king's contemptuous treatment of them, in putting them on a par with mercenary

nary bravoes. To ſoften their indignation, John made them the faireſt promiſes of juſtice and redreſs; and returning into Normandy, indulged himſelf in voluptuous eaſe[4]. A. D. 1201.

Young Arthur, who was a prince of early capacity, endeavoured to diſtreſs his uncle by fanning the flames of rebellion in Aquitaine. He had been lately diſengaged from the tutelage of his mother, a weak and imprudent woman, by her death; and Philip Auguſtus, having compromiſed the diſputes in which he had been involved with the court of Rome, prepared to renounce the friendſhip of the king of England, and vindicate, by arms, the cauſe of the injured duke. He demanded of John the ſurrender of his tranſmarine provinces to Arthur; and, meeting with a refuſal, he inſtantly made an irruption into Normandy, and rapidly reduced ſeveral places of importance. Arthur took the field, at the ſame time, with a ſmall body of forces; and hearing that queen Eleanor, his grandmother, who had been a ſtrenuous partiſan of her ſon John, was then reſident at Mirebeau in Poictou, he made his firſt martial eſſay as the beſieger of that fortreſs. He eaſily took every part of the caſtle, except the keep or principal tower, within which Eleanor and her few followers ſought refuge. He fiercely aſſaulted this tower; and being reinforced during the ſiege by the chief revolters of Aquitaine, he would probably have ſoon gained poſſeſſion of Eleanor's perſon, had not the king her ſon opportunely arrived with a ſuperior army. Arthur, impelled by youthful impetuoſity, advanced to meet the royaliſts; and a warm conflict enſued, to the diſadvantage of the duke, who, being overpowered by numbers, fled back into the A. D. 1202. Aug. 1.

4. Hoved. ad ann. 1201; with which year that hiſtorian ends his voluminous work.

A. D. 1202. caſtle. Here the engagement was renewed, and John obtained a complete victory, the grand fruit of which was the capture of his Breton rival. The count of La Marche was alſo taken priſoner on this occaſion, with ſeveral of his noble confederates, and 200 knights. Philip was ſo diſcouraged at the news of this defeat of his friends, that he raiſed the ſiege of Arques, and returned to Paris; while the unfortunate Arthur was conveyed into Normandy, and cloſely confined in the caſtle of Falaiſe, by order of his victorious uncle [5].

The conſtant danger which John apprehended from the continuance of the life of an aſpiring nephew, gave him great anxiety, which, after ſome deliberation, he determined to remove by the uſual reſource of ſanguinary tyrants. The young priſoner being transferred

A. D. 1203. to the citadel of Rouen, quickly diſappeared. As the nefarious deed was performed with great ſecreſy, it is differently related by hiſtorians [6], according to the various accounts which were propagated of the fact by the tongue of common rumor; but, where they agree in the eſſential point, a variation of circumſtance is of no moment; and we may confidently aſſert, that Arthur was aſſaſſinated by ſome obſequious miniſter of tyrannic cruelty, if he did not (as ſome affirm) fall by the hand of John himſelf.

The king's apprehenſions were not entirely removed by this inhuman ſacrifice, as Arthur's claim had devolved on his ſiſter Eleanor. He therefore ſeiſed that princeſs, brought her over to England, and detained her during his whole life in ſevere confinement [7]. He

5. Matth. Par. p. 199.—Annal. de Marg. p. 13.—Ann. Waverl. p. 167. 6. Radulph. Nig. MS. in Biblioth. Cott.—Annal. de Marg.—Chron. Walt Hemingf.—Gul. Armoric.—Chron. T. Wikes.

7. Chron. T. Wikes, edit. Gale, p. 36. — Walſing. Ypodigm. Neuſt.

gave further proofs of his mercileſs diſpoſition, in his rigorous treatment of the captive partiſans of Arthur, twenty-two of whom are ſaid to have been ſubjected to a death of famine by his order[8]. A. D. 1203.

The ſudden diſappearance of the duke of Bretagne, of whoſe violent death no doubts were entertained, excited a general clamor againſt the Engliſh monarch, and furniſhed the politic Philip with an opportunity of effectually promoting the purpoſes of his own ambition, at the expence of one who had forfeited all pretenſions to the eſteem of the world, or the affection of his ſubjects. He fomented the complaints of the Bretons, who execrated the deſtroyer of their ſovereign. He prepared to puſh his conqueſts in Normandy, while the odium of John's crime was freſh in the minds of the people. He received with great ſatisfaction the impeachment preferred againſt that prince by the ſtates of Bretagne, who accuſed him, in the French court of peers, of the murder of his nephew, who was alſo a vaſſal of France. John refuſed to appear in the court to which he was ſummoned; and, in his abſence, he was declared guilty of felony and treaſon, and all the fiefs which he held of the French crown were adjudged to be forfeited to his ſuperior lord[9]. For the execution of this judgment, Philip aſſembled a numerous army, and, before the cloſe of the year, ſubdued a conſiderable part of Normandy, as well as of Poictou; the ſucceſs of his arms being greatly promoted by the revolt of many of the powerful ſubjects of John. This monarch, immerſed in debauchery, ſuffered his royal adverſary to proſecute unoppoſed the career of triumph, and did not rouſe himſelf from his inglorious ſloth till he had received intelligence of the diſmiſſion of the

8. Ann. de Marg. p. 13. Auguſt.—Ann. de Marg.

9. Paul. Æmil. Vit. Phil.

French

A. D. 1203. French forces. He then formed the ſiege of Alençon, which had been voluntarily ſurrendered by it's lord to Philip. Eager to relieve the garriſon, the French king haſtened to the place with a body of knights whom he had accidentally found celebrating a tournament in the Gâtinois; and his unexpected appearance in the neighbourhood of Alençon terrified John into ſo precipitate a flight, that he left behind him all his baggage and military machines [10].

The hoſtilities of Philip had induced John to ſolicit the interpoſition of the pope (Innocent III.) who readily conſented to act as a mediator, and ſent two abbots without delay to the French king, to inſiſt on his putting an end to the ravages of war. Philip, though piqued at the pontiff's preſumption, condeſcended to diſpatch envoys to Rome, with a requeſt that the pope would ceaſe to interfere between him and his enemy; and Innocent, admitting the reaſons alledged by the deputies, complied with their monarch's deſire. The war therefore ſtill continuing, Philip inveſted Chateau-Gaillard, near Andeli, a place of uncommon ſtrength, the fruit of king Richard's abilities in the art of fortification. After it had undergone a cloſe blockade for ſome time, John made an attempt for it's relief, which, though planned with judgment, and executed with ſpirit, was rendered abortive by the well-directed efforts of the French. Diſcouraged at this ill ſucceſs, John remained wholly inactive for the remainder of the ſeaſon; and, having ordered three of his Norman towns to be diſmantled, he ſailed for England, as if he had abandoned all hope or deſire of preſerving the duchy from being ſwallowed up in the vortex of Gallic ambition [11].

10. Gul. Armoric. lib. vii. —Matth. Par.

11. Rigord. et Gul. Armoric.

After

After a ſiege of near ſeven months, Chateau-Gaillard yielded to the united force of famine and aſſault; and the capture of this bulwark facilitated the progreſs of Philip, who, marching to Falaiſe, ſoon received the ſurrender of that important town from Lupicaire, a Brabançon in John's ſervice, who immediately entered into that of Philip. The various towns of Normandy ſucceſſively ſubmitted to the French prince, with whom Guy de Thouars, the third huſband of the late ducheſs of Bretagne, co-operated at the head of a ſtrong army of Bretons, whoſe ravages John revenged by a ſimilar devaſtation of their country, executed by an army which he ſent from England. The only Norman towns which had not yet ſurrendered to the enemy, were Rouen, Arques, and Verneuil, the inhabitants of which had mutually engaged not to capitulate without including the three places in the terms of agreement. Philip now beſieged Rouen, which, he expected, would ſoon yield to the terror of his arms. But the citizens notified to him their intentions of oppoſing him as long as they ſhould have the power of defence, and ſent to England for ſuccour, of which John gave them no hopes. Their maſter's deſertion of them damped their ſpirits, and induced them, after a ſhort reſiſtance, to propoſe terms of capitulation to Philip, of which Arques and Verneuil were to enjoy the benefit. The three towns having ſurrendered, the conqueſt of Normandy was completed [12]; and that valuable province was again ſubjected to the immediate juriſdiction of the French crown, when near three centuries had elapſed from the time of it's ceſſion to the fortunate Rollo, under homage to that monarchy.

A. D. 1204.

June 30.

Philip's ambition was not ſatiated with the acquiſition of this duchy. He extended his views to the

12. Rad. Nig.—Matth. Par.—Ann. de Marg.

con-

A. D. 1204. conqueſt of the other provinces which, for a ſeries of years, had been poſſeſſed by the kings of England. He invaded Anjou, and quickly reduced it; and the counties of Touraine and Maine were conſtrained to accept the ſame maſter. He then carried his arms to the ſouthward, and proceeded with great rapidity in the conqueſt of the duchy of Aquitaine.

John, though he ſeemed to bear, with great apathy, the loſs of his foreign dominions, endeavoured to transfer the diſgrace from himſelf to his barons, who, he ſaid, had prevented him, by their deſertion, from taking any effectual ſteps for the preſervation of his territories. Fortified with this pretence, he exacted fines from ſome, and confiſcated the lands of others. In a council aſſembled at Oxford, he demanded two marks and a half for every knight's fee, towards the equipment of an army for the recovery of his poſſeſſions. But he does not appear to have expended the produce of this impoſt on any points of real ſervice. The

A. D. 1205. next year, he expreſſed his determination of paſſing over to the continent, to oppoſe the progreſs of the French arms in Aquitaine; and, for that purpoſe, ſummoned his vaſſals to meet him at Portſmouth. When a numerous fleet and army had appeared at the rendezvous, the king was diſſuaded by ſome of his counſellors from leaving his realm expoſed to danger by his abſence, and that of ſo many of her defenders. This advice agreeing with his own inclinations, he diſmiſſed the majority of his troops as well as veſſels, and repaired to Wincheſter; whence, after a ſhort ſtay, he returned to Portſmouth. Putting to ſea with all the ſhips which he could haſtily collect, as if he had reſumed his enterpriſe, he ſailed about the channel for two days, and then landed in Dorſetſhire, thus expoſing himſelf to the ridicule and contempt of his ſubjects.

jects. He now exacted conſiderable ſums from them, on pretence of their having refuſed to ſerve him in the expedition which he meditated [13]; a conduct that did not tend to weaken thoſe ſentiments of general diſguſt and indignation which his former extortions had arouſed. A. D. 1205.

He at length ſhook off, for a time, his diſgraceful indolence, and embarked with an army for the continent, at the ſolicitations of Guy de Thouars, who, on the death of Arthur, and the impriſonment of Eleanor, had ruled Bretagne in behalf of Alice, his own daughter by the late ducheſs. Though Guy had lately ſupported the intereſts of Philip, he had conceived a jealouſy of the deſigns which that monarch might have on Bretagne, and therefore deemed it the moſt prudent meaſure to aſſiſt John againſt his French rival. Stimulated by Guy's ſuggeſtions, and the invitations of other noblemen, John ſet ſail about Midſummer; and, having landed at Rochelle, marched into Quercy, and took Montauban by ſtorm after a fortnight's ſiege; an exploit of which he made an extravagant boaſt in an epiſtle which he wrote on the ſubject to the Engliſh juſticiaries. He then turned his arms to the northward, reduced and burned the city of Angers, ravaged the circumjacent country, and extended his devaſtations over the Païs Nantois, which Philip had invaded and ſubdued when he heard of the negotiations of Guy de Thouars with the king of England. Nantes was now inveſted by John; but, on the approach of the French, he raiſed the ſiege, retired into Poictou, declined an offer of battle made to him by Philip, and, having fixed a day for a conference with that prince, meanly decamped before the arrival of the appointed time, and prepared for his return to England. Not- A. D. 1206.

13. Matth. Par. p. 204.—Rad. Nig.

with-

A. D. 1206. withſtanding his non-appearance at the place of meeting, ſome Romiſh negotiators, acting in his behalf, concluded a biennial truce with the French king [14].

Though John was now at peace with his temporal enemies, he did not long remain in a ſtate of tranquillity. Innocent, the reigning pope, an aſpiring and turbulent eccleſiaſtic, was deſirous of taking advantage of the mean talents and the unpopularity of the Engliſh monarch. He had already made occaſional encroachments on the prerogative of that prince; and an opportunity now occurred for the renewal of papal uſurpation. Diſputes had frequently happened on the right of electing the archbiſhops of Canterbury, between the monks or canons of Chriſt-church in that city, and the ſuffragans of the province; the former aſſerting their excluſive privilege of electing the primate, chiefly on the ground of his being the ſuperior of their convent; and the latter claiming the choice of their own metropolitan, in compliance with the general practice of the primitive church. Though the influence of the ſovereign had uſually prevailed in theſe elections, the monks had affected to conſider his approbation as not eſſential to the validity of the choice. Archbiſhop Hubert having lately died, ſome of the junior monks of Chriſt-church privately aſſembled before his interment, and elected a ſucceſſor in the perſon of Reginald, ſub-prior of the convent; then ſending him to Rome for the pope's confirmation, they congratulated themſelves on the proſpect of eſtabliſhing in the primacy a prelate of their ſole nomination. Though Reginald was bound by oath to conceal his appointment till he had procured the papal recognition, his vanity ſoon divulged the ſecret; and Innocent expecting a proteſt againſt the election, reſolved to act with ſuch policy as might render the diſpute

14. Chron. Rob. de Mont.—Ann. Waverl.—Matth. Par.

con-

conducive to the augmentation of his ſpiritual power. A. D. 1206. The king was greatly diſpleaſed at an appointment ſo clandeſtine, and ſo derogatory to the royal prerogative; but his wrath was allayed by a reſpectful meſſage from the monks of Chriſt-church, who, diſguſted at the conduct of Reginald, requeſted permiſſion to elect a new archbiſhop; which he readily granted, at the ſame time intimating, to ſome of their number, that they would give him great ſatisfaction by ſupplying the vacancy with John de Grey, biſhop of Norwich. They elected this prelate without heſitation; and he was immediately, by the king's order, put in poſſeſſion of the temporalities of his new ſee. The ſuffragans of the province, not having been conſulted in either of the elections, appealed to the pope againſt both; and, after various hearings, Innocent ordained the excluſion of the ſuffragans from all ſhare in the future appointment of a primate, annulled the two late elections, and prevailed on thoſe monks of Canterbury who happened to be then preſent at Rome, to fix upon Stephen Langton, a cardinal of Engliſh birth, for their archbiſhop [15]. A. D. 1207.

This flagrant inſult on the king and on the church of England arouſed the reſentment of that nation; and John determined to oppoſe, with vigorous efforts, the eſtabliſhment of a primate thus obtruded on his kingdom by an arrogant pontiff. Innocent, foreſeeing the king's diſpleaſure, had previouſly ſent him four rings of gold, enriched with precious ſtones, which he accompanied with a curious interpretation of their ſuppoſed myſtical meanings. John was flattered by this preſent from the ſpiritual father of Chriſtendom; but his ſatisfaction was converted into emotions of rage and indignation, when he received, a few days after-

15. Matth. Par. p. 204, 205, 213.

A. D. 1207. wards, a bull from the ſame officious prieſt, notifying the election of cardinal Langton to the primacy of England, and requeſting, with feigned humility, the royal approbation of the papal choice. Incenſed at the conduct of Innocent, he vented his fury on the monks of Canterbury, for the concurrence of a part of their ſociety in the pope's recommendation of Langton. He baniſhed from his realm all the members of that convent, except a few invalids, and ſeiſed all their effects. He then wrote an expoſtulatory epiſtle to his holineſs, aſſerting the prerogatives and the independence of his crown, and menacing the pontiff with a ſeparation of the Engliſh church from all ſubſerviency to the ſee of Rome, if he ſhould perſiſt in his inſolence and preſumption. Innocent, who had ſufficiently informed himſelf of the king's temper, was not deterred from his purpoſe by the threats of a prince who, he knew, would yield to a pertinacious oppoſition; and he wrote a haughty reply to John, condemning his profane contumacy, and giving him to underſtand, that, if he ſhould not conſent to the reception of Langton as primate, he would plunge himſelf into a ſea of troubles, from which he would find it extremely difficult to emerge.

This interchange of threats prognoſticated an open rupture between the king and the pope. John iſſued orders throughout England, that no appeals ſhould be made to the court of Rome, which had long derived great profits from this practice. Innocent, enraged at this abridgment of his revenues, haſtened the execution of his ſchemes. He commanded the biſhops of London, Worceſter, and Ely, to require of their ſovereign the acknowledgment of the new archbiſhop, and the reſtoration of the monks of Chriſt-church to their convent and poſſeſſions; and, in failure of his compliance, to put the realm under an interdict. The king

king ſtrove to prevent the publication of this ſentence by furious menaces, which, however, did not diſcourage the three prelates from adhering to the pope's injunctions. The ſpiritual terrors of an interdict were immediately diffuſed over the kingdom [16]. Divine ſervice ceaſed in the churches; the dead were interred in the fields, high-ways, or ditches, without the ſolemnity of funeral rites; marriages were performed in the church-yards; and, from theſe and other inflictions of papal diſpleaſure, the bigoted people conſidered themſelves as the unfortunate objects of the wrath of Heaven. But the interdict was not univerſally obſerved; for ſome of the clergy had ſufficient ſenſe and ſpirit to diſregard it, and open their churches to the laity.

A. D. 1207.

A. D. 1208.

The king diſplayed great reſolution on this occaſion. He denounced his ſevereſt reſentment againſt all who preſumed to obey the interdict, and ordered his ſheriffs to ſeiſe the eſtates of every eccleſiaſtic, whether of high or low rank, who paid the leaſt regard to the ſentence. But this command was not rigorouſly executed, though John continued to diſtreſs the clergy who adhered to the pope, by depriving them of the protection of the law, impriſoning their wives and concubines, and encouraging his officers to mal-treat and inſult them [17].

16. Matth. Par. p. 217.—Ann. Waverl. p. 170.
17. Matth. Par.

CHAP. VIII.

John tyrannises over his subjects.—He makes expeditions into Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.—The quarrel between him and the pope still continues.—He is formally deposed by his holiness.—He is at length prevailed on to surrender his dominions to the pope, and consents to hold them in tributary vassalage.—The English obtain a great naval victory over the French.—The barons enter into an association for the recovery of their liberties.—They make war on the king;—and extort from him a chartered confirmation of their ancient rights.—The civil war is renewed.—The barons invite prince Lewis of France to wrest the crown from the head of John;—who dies in the midst of these disturbances.—Sketch of his character.

A. D. 1208. THE desire of liberty is one of the strongest passions of our nature; and though it's ardor is restrained by a long submission to established government, the flame still burns in the breast of the individual; and while it animates the savage to resist the attempts of the enemy who would enslave him, it stimulates the members of a regular community to assert their native rights against the tyranny of their rulers. The prince whose reign we are now employed in describing, had conducted his administration in such a manner, as seemed to authorise a conclusion that he considered himself as the absolute sovereign of a people who had no pretensions to real liberty. He oppressed them with constant exactions, the produce of which he usually converted to the purposes of his private convenience, without regard to the public benefit of his realm. He disgusted the nobles by his insolence and *hauteur*: he inflamed

inflamed the reſentment of many by debauching their wives and daughters, and ridiculing their complaints of the injury and diſhonor which he thus inflicted: he encroached on the rights of his ſubjects of all ranks: he paid no attention to the political duty of a ſovereign, or to the moral integrity of a man. A prince of ſuch a character could not be the object of popular eſteem or attachment; and it was natural to expect, that the ſpirit of the people would at length be rouſed to a vindication of their privileges, and to a peremptory demand of the full enjoyment of the freedom of their conſtitution. Had John been an active and able monarch, he might, notwithſtanding his tyranny, have awed the diſaffected into ſubmiſſion, and have maintained himſelf in the peaceable exerciſe of his power; but his general puſillanimity, his levity of conduct, his mixture of arrogance and meanneſs, flattered the Engliſh with ſtrong hopes of the ſucceſs of ſuch vigorous meaſures as they might be induced to purſue for the humiliation of the tyrant and the recovery of their liberties. The rupture between the king and the Romiſh pontiff ſeemed to point out the preſent period as a favorable opportunity for oppoſing the arbitrary career of the former; but the popular diſcontents were not yet ſufficiently matured for action, and no regular plan of reſiſtance had yet been concerted. A. D. 1208.

John was not inſenſible of the general diſaffection of his ſubjects; and, as he now apprehended, from the perſevering vengeance of Innocent, a bull for his excommunication, which would ſhake the allegiance of his people, and furniſh them with a plauſible pretext of revolt, he demanded the ſons or other near relatives of his principal barons as hoſtages for their fidelity. Many of them complied with this requiſition [1]; but

1. Matth. Par. p. 218.

A. D. 1208. William de Braouſe, lord of Brecknock, was influenced by his wife to refuſe to commit his offspring into the hands of one who had murdered his own nephew; and the king, being informed that the lady had aſſigned this reaſon for the refuſal, ſent an armed party to ſeiſe the family, who found means, however, to eſcape into Ireland. The wife and ſon were afterwards diſcovered in their retreat, and are ſaid to have been famiſhed in priſon by the king's order [2].

A. D. 1209. To divert the public attention from the terrors of the church, under which the kingdom ſtill labored, John undertook an expedition againſt the king of Scotland, who had offended him by oppoſing, in a hoſtile manner, the erection of an Engliſh fort at the mouth of the Tweed, and by affording refuge to fugitives from John's dominions. Having reached the Tweed at the head of a numerous army, he learned that the Scottiſh king was encamped at Roxburgh, with a ſeeming intention of giving him battle; but neither of the kings being obſtinately bent on the deciſion of arms, a negotiation was recommended by their reſpective nobles, and a treaty was concluded, by which William conſented to pay 15,000 marks to the Engliſh monarch [3], by way of marriage-portion to his two daughters, who were delivered into the hands of John, as the future wives of Henry and Richard, the two infant ſons of the latter.

The pope, having in vain endeavoured to ſubdue the contumacy of John, now proceeded to excommunicate that prince by name; but this ſentence, though it gave the papal ſanction to the diſcontents of the Engliſh, and occaſioned the emigration of many of them, tended rather to excite an odium againſt the

2. Matth. Par. p. 221.—Ann de Marg. p. 14, 15. 3. Rym. Fœd. tom. i.

vindictive

vindictive pontiff, than to increaſe the popular reſentment againſt the king; and the infliction of a cenſure ſo formidable to the princes and nobles of that age, did not prevent the royal object of it from achieving two fortunate expeditions, which amuſed and employed his ſubjects, and prevented them from brooding on the thoughts of an interdicted realm and an excommunicated ſovereign. A. D. 1209.

The Engliſh government in Ireland not being fully eſtabliſhed, John formed the deſign of an expedition into that iſland. He raiſed a conſiderable army on pretence of exerting his efforts for the recovery of Normandy and his other foreign territories from the rapacious hands of the French monarch [4]. But, when he had completed his levies, he marched into Wales, and embarked for that iſland which his illuſtrious father had added to the dominion of the crown of England. The fame of his arrival brought more than twenty of the Hibernian chieftains to his camp at Dublin, who gratified him with every ſubmiſſion exacted by the feudal ſyſtem. He continued near three months in Ireland; and the regulations there eſtabliſhed by him were perhaps the moſt important fruits of his political talents, which were not of the moſt elevated kind. The king of Connaught refuſing to recogniſe his authority, he invaded that province, and reduced the refractory prince to obedience. Having repreſſed the commotions of Ireland, reformed the adminiſtration and *police* of the country, and left the regency in the hands of the biſhop of Norwich, he returned to England, where he extorted large ſums from thoſe re- A. D. 1210.

4. The words adopted on this occaſion by the author of the Annals of Waverly, (a work which bears all the appearance of ſincerity and impartiality), are remarkable. *Johannes rex—inæſtimabilem et incomparabilem fecit pecuniæ numeratæ exactionem, nullis viris clericis vel laicis, nulli religioni cujuſcunque ordinis parcens.* Ann. Wav. p. 172.

A. D. 1210. ligious orders which either had not contributed at all, or had given what he thought an inſufficient proportion, towards the charges of his late enterpriſe [5].

A. D. 1211. Encouraged by his ſucceſs in Ireland, John determined on an expedition into North Wales, to revenge the incurſions, and complete the ſubjection, of Llewellyn, ruler of that principality, to whom he had given a natural daughter in marriage. In the earlier part of his campaign againſt that prince, John was greatly haraſſed by the enemy's light detachments, and reduced to a ſcarcity of ſubſiſtence. Returning therefore within his own borders, he reinforced his army, and recruited his ſtock of proviſions; then marching back into Caernarvonſhire, he burned Bangor, and ſtruck ſuch terror by his devaſtations, that Llewellyn ſent his wife to ſue for peace, which was granted on theſe conditions; that he ſhould do homage to John for his principality, cede to that monarch the ſhires of Flint and Denbigh, preſent him with 20,000 head of cattle, and give hoſtages for his ſubmiſſive conduct [6].

The king had lately negotiated with two Romiſh nuncios on the ſubject of a reconciliation with their principal; but his peremptory refuſal of indemnifying the proſcribed clergy, for the loſſes which they had ſuſtained by the ſequeſtration of their revenues for three years, though he agreed to reſtore them to their fees and beneſices, put a ſtop to the treaty; and Innocent prepared for the further chaſtiſement of the unſubmitting monarch. He publiſhed a bull, abſolving all the vaſſals of John, and his ſubjects of every deſcription, from their allegiance, and commanding them, on pain of excommunication, to avoid all commerce with him at his table, as well as in his council, and not

5. Matth. Par. p. 220, 221.—Triveti Annal. 6. Ann. de Marg. p. 15.—Ann. Waverl.—Powel's Welſh Chronicle.

even to diſcourſe with him on any occaſion[7]. Though the ſubſtantial purport of this ſentence amounted to a depoſition, the papal caſuiſtry made a formal difference between the bull for diſſolving the allegiance of the ſubject, and the edict for hurling a monarch from his throne. The next gradation, therefore, of pontifical revenge was a ſentence which depoſed John from his royal dignity, and notified the pope's intention of filling the throne of England with another prince[8]. A. D. 1211. A. D. 1212.

Though every potentate in Europe ought to have united in cruſhing the extravagant inſolence of papal power, and annihilating the dominion arrogated over Chriſtian ſovereigns by an artful, intereſted, and preſumptuous prieſt, whoſe power kept pace with the bigoted blindneſs and ignorance of the times, the king of France, ſuffering his ambition to ſupplant his judgment, entered with an ardent zeal into the views of Innocent, who encouraged him to attempt the expulſion of John from the Engliſh throne, and gave him full permiſſion to ſubſtitute himſelf in the room of the depoſed king. The Welſh prince Llewellyn was ſtimulated by the papal perſuaſions to aſſiſt in the dethronement of his father-in-law; and all Chriſtian princes, barons, and knights, were exhorted to avenge the injuries and ſufferings of the church, by joining in a cruſade againſt the impious John; a ſervice which would entitle them to a plenary abſolution from all their iniquities[9].

Llewellyn, repenting of the late peace, gladly took up arms againſt the prince who had impoſed it. He deſolated the Engliſh borders with ſavage ferocity; and his hoſtilities rouſed to ſuch a degree the reſentment of John, that he aſſembled a numerous army with

7. Matth. Par. p. 221. 8. Id. p. 223. 9. Matth. Par. p. 223.

threats

A. D. 1212. threats of exterminating the perfidious Welſh, and having advanced to Nottingham, ordered the execution of all the hoſtages delivered up by his ſon-in-law in the preceding year, amounting to the number of about thirty perſons of the firſt rank in the principality of North-Wales. His expedition, however, was prevented by alarming accounts which he received of a conſpiracy formed by many of his barons againſt his liberty or his life; and ſucceſſive hints of this nature ſo diſcouraged him, that he diſmiſſed his forces, and haſtened to his metropolis. By impriſoning ſeveral of the ſuſpected nobles, baniſhing ſome, and demanding hoſtages of others, he allayed his apprehenſions of preſent danger, though he augmented the odium of his adminiſtration. This he endeavoured to remove by ſome gracious and popular acts[10]; but theſe being aſcribed rather to the dictates of temporiſing policy than to any permanent intentions of a beneficent ſway, had little effect in conciliating the public favor.

In the mean time, the French monarch was making extraordinary preparations for the invaſion of England. He levied a very powerful army, and equipped a numerous fleet, for that important enterpriſe; while John, ſenſible of his danger, made equal exertions for his defence, and beſides forming alliances with his nephew the emperor, with the earl of Boulogne, the dukes of Saxony and Limburg, the earl of Holland, and other princes of the continent, collected a greater multitude of his ſubjects than had appeared together for many years. From this force he ſelected 60,000 well-armed troops, and diſmiſſed the reſt to their provincial diſtricts. For the immediate protection of his coaſts, he aſſembled a great number of veſſels, ſtrong and well-appointed[11].

A. D. 1213.

10. Chron. Dunſt.—Chron. Walt. Covent. p. 224, 225.—Rym. Fœd. tom. i.

11. Matth. Par.

While John remained at Dover, with intentions of vigorous oppoſition, and Philip at the mouth of the Seine, with views of deciſive hoſtility, Pandulf, a Romiſh legate, ſent meſſengers to the former prince to deſire an interview; to which John ſignified a ready aſſent. Though Innocent had ſolicited the aid of the king of France for the execution of his ſentence againſt John, he began to reflect, that it would be impolitic to give Philip an opportunity of aggrandiſing himſelf by the reduction of England; an achievement which would perhaps ſo elevate his pride, as to render him unwilling to pay the ſmalleſt regard to the future dictates of the ſee of Rome. He had therefore given ſecret inſtructions to Pandulf to make peace with John, but to inſiſt on ſuch terms as would ſecure victory to the church. The legate, in his conference with the king of England, prognoſticated the utter ruin of that prince, if he ſhould not ſpeedily humble himſelf towards the church. He aſſured him that Philip had received general encouragement from the Engliſh barons, who would certainly, on the commencement of hoſtilities, revolt to that monarch, and perhaps deliver their maſter into the hands of his rival; and that, even if the propagation of diſcontent ſhould not be ſo extenſive as there was reaſon to believe, the ſuperior power of Philip and the church would quickly and effectually cruſh him. The rhetoric of Pandulf, ſupported as it was by probability of remark, operated with ſudden conviction on the mind of John, who declared himſelf willing to ſubmit without reſerve to the judgment of the church. The conditions of peace which the pope had drawn up were now produced by the legate, and ratified by the ſubſcription of the humiliated king. The moſt important of them were, that he ſhould receive cardinal Langton as archbiſhop of Canterbury; reſtore

A. D. 1213.

May 13.

A. D. 1213. reſtore all the clergy whom he had expelled from their preferments; grant an indemnification of all damages ſuſtained either by eccleſiaſtics or laymen for their adherence to the will of the pope; pay a certain ſum to Langton by way of compenſation for the loſs ariſing from the detention of the revenues of his ſee; and that all diſputes which might occur in the execution of this treaty ſhould be referred to the pope or his repreſentative. The earl of Boulogne, and three Engliſh earls, guaranteed, by oath, the punctual obſervance of the convention [12].

This ſcene, ſo derogatory to the honor of the crown and the dignity of the nation, was not the only diſgrace to which England, by the miſconduct of her monarch, was now ſubjected. It was hinted to John by the artful Pandulf, that the moſt efficacious means of preventing the ſucceſs of Philip's deſigns, as well as of keeping the diſaffected Engliſh in awe, would be the tributary ſurrender both of England and Ireland to the pope, whoſe influence and authority would then be more immediately exerted for the protection of his

May 15. vaſſal. In a ſubſequent meeting at Dover, John, continuing his career of ignominious ſubmiſſion, reſigned his Engliſh and Hibernian dominions to Innocent and his ſucceſſors in the popedom; conſenting, by charter, to hold them in fief of the ſee of Rome, and to acknowledge his vaſſalage by the payment of an annual tribute of 700 marks for England, and of 300 for Ireland; and concluding the inſtrument with a ſtipulation, that, if he or any of his ſucceſſors ſhould infringe it, a forfeiture of the fiefs ſhould enſue [13]. This charter being delivered to Pandulf, John performed homage

12. Matth. Par. p. 225—227.—Ann. Waverl. p. 177.

13. Matth. Par. p. 227.—Chron. Hemingſ. lib. ii. cap. 98.—Ann. Waverl.

to

to the deputy of his new lord, and ſwore fealty to the abſent pontiff; and the nuncio was ſo rejoiced at the triumph of the church over royalty, that he arrogantly trampled on the money which the king had given as an earneſt of tributary ſubjection; an inſolence for which he was reproved by the archbiſhop of Dublin. A. D. 1213.

Pandulf now haſtened to the continent, and intimated to the French king the agreement which he had made with John, who, having become a vaſſal of the pope, would be protected againſt all his enemies by the exertions of the holy ſee, and the irreſiſtible thunders of the church. Philip expoſtulated with the legate on the capricious conduct of his maſter, and could not reflect, without extreme mortification, on the idea of deſiſting from an enterpriſe for which he had prepared with ſo much alacrity, and at ſo great an expence. He conſulted his nobles on the ſubject, and finding them inclined to diſregard the menaces of Pandulf, reſolved to perſiſt in the projected invaſion; but, as the earl of Flanders, one of his moſt powerful vaſſals, refuſed to follow him, Philip turned his arms againſt that prince, and reduced him to ſuch diſtreſs, that he applied for aid to the king of England, with whom he had lately contracted an alliance. John, pleaſed with an opportunity of employing his navy againſt that of France, ordered his natural brother, Long-ſword earl of Saliſbury, to ſail with the earls of Holland and Boulogne towards the Flemiſh coaſt, and attack the Gallic fleet. This ſervice was ably and ſucceſsfully performed. The hoſtile fleets met off Damme; and a fierce attack took place on the part of the Engliſh, which ended in the capture of 300 of the French veſſels, laden with proviſions and other requiſites, in the deſtruction of 100 by fire, and the diſperſion of the remainder. A detachment of June.

the

A. D. 1213. the conquerors then landed in Flanders; but, being repulsed by the French with considerable loss, they retired to their ships. Philip, hearing of the defeat of his navy, burned such of his ships as were in danger of being taken by the English, and returned to France dejected and dismayed [14].

Philip's misfortune concurred with the restored favor of the pope to elevate the spirits of John, who resolved to make an immediate attempt for the recovery of his transmarine states. But his barons refused to attend him, alleging, as a reason, that he had not yet been absolved from his excommunication; but their real motives originated in their contempt of his person, and their aversion to his government. Archbishop Langton, and the clerical exiles, coming to England soon after, he received them with outward kindness, and was formally absolved by them. He then repeated his orders to his vassals to prepare for a foreign expedition; but they replied, that the limited time of their service at their own expence had elapsed, and that they could not accompany him unless he would grant them supplies from the royal treasury. He refused to comply with their demands; and sailed from Portsmouth with his household troops, flattering himself that the barons would follow him; but, being deceived in his expectations, he quickly returned to land, with such emotions of resentment at the desertion of his nobles, that he was proceeding to chastise the most obnoxious of them, when the menaces of the primate induced him to desist from his purpose.

A. D. 1214. Eager to recover his territories on the continent, John embarked for Poictou, in the following spring, with as many of his barons as he could prevail on to attend him. He had engaged to make a campaign

14. Matth. Par. ad ann. 1213. Chron. Dunst.

against

againſt Philip, in concert with the emperor, the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, Toulouſe, Auvergne, and other foreign allies. He regained ſeveral towns and caſtles in Poictou and Anjou; but his ſucceſs was tranſient; for the approach of prince Lewis, and his apprehenſions of the treachery of his Poictevin auxiliaries, induced him to leave the field to the enemy. He ſoon after received intelligence of a deciſive victory obtained by the French king at Bovines over the army under the emperor's command, computed by hiſtorians at the improbable number of 150,000 men, among whom were many Engliſh auxiliaries. Diſcouraged at this defeat of his nephew, John negotiated a truce with Philip for five years, and returned to England, from which the interdict had been formally removed in his abſence [15]. A. D. 1214. July 27.

Inteſtine commotions were now on the point of agitating this kingdom. The people had long endured the king's oppreſſions; but, though they had long been diſaffected, they had not yet determined on vindicating their liberties by the ſword. An opportunity of exertion, however, ſeemed to have arrived, when the infection of diſcontent had become ſo general as to prognoſticate ſucceſs to the popular efforts, and when the inſtances of mean ſubmiſſion which the ſovereign had ſhown, flattered the public wiſhes with the proſpect of his acquieſcence in the ſpirited demands of a national aſſociation. Occaſional meetings of the barons had already taken place; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, though he had been obtruded on the nation by the papal influence, and though, as a member

15. Matth. Par.—Chron. Dunſt.—Ann. Waverl.—It appears, that 40,000 marks were paid by the king at different times to the principal eccleſiaſtics who had ſuffered by his reſentment of the papal proceedings; but we do not find that the inferior clergy, except the monks of Canterbury, received any compenſation.

of

A. D. 1214. of the college of cardinals, he could not have been expected to cherish a very warm regard for the privileges of the people, had even taken the lead in the design of circumscribing the power of John within the limits of constitutional authority. He had produced, before a party of the nobility, a copy of the charter of the first Henry, which he recommended to the attention of those who wished for the restoration of their liberties; and all the barons who were present had sworn, that they would, as soon as an opportunity should offer, boldly assert their rights, and risque their lives in so glorious a cause [16] About the time of John's last return from the continent, many of the barons assembled at Bury, where they renewed their promises of making a formal demand of their ancient privileges; and even swore, that they would harass the king with incessant hostilities, till they should extort from him a full compliance with their requisitions. They fixed the approaching Christmas for the intimation of their demands to their sovereign; and resolved to employ the intervening period in preparations for supporting their claims by the efficacy of arms, if a determined refusal from the king should render that violent appeal necessary [17].

A. D. 1215. Jan. 6. The confederate barons, attended by an armed retinue, appeared at court; and, being introduced to the king, requested a confirmation of the charter of Henry I. and of the laws of Edward the Confessor, in pursuance of the oath which he had lately taken on his receiving absolution from the primate. John refused to accede to their solicitations, and even required them to promise that they would never advance such demands in future; but the tone of firmness which he assumed was insufficient to awe them into so mean a

16. Matth. Par. p. 231. 17. Id. p. 243.

con-

condeſcenſion; and finding it expedient to aſſume a more complacent demeanor, he deſired that a proper time might be allowed him to deliberate on the very important objects of their petition. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of Ely, and the earl of Pembroke, offering themſelves as ſureties for his returning a ſatisfactory anſwer at the enſuing Eaſter, the barons retired from his preſence [18]. A. D. 1215.

To guard againſt the machinations of the aſſociated nobles, the king exacted, from his ſubjects in general, a renewal of homage and fealty; and, that he might ſecure on his ſide the powerful influence of the clergy, he granted a charter, by which he conferred, on all chapters and conventual ſocieties, the free right of ſupplying their own vacancies [19]. As the aſſumption of the croſs was uſually deemed a valid protection to the perſons and property of individuals, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by that badge, though he had no intentions of acting as a cruſard. He ſent an envoy to Rome, to notify his appeal to the papal tribunal from the unreaſonable demands of his nobility. The latter alſo had recourſe to the pope, whom they ſolicited to procure for them the re-eſtabliſhment of their rights. In this diſpute, Innocent thought proper to eſpouſe the cauſe of the king, whoſe vaſſalage he expected to loſe if the barons ſhould triumph in the conteſt.

The allied nobility met at Stamford in Eaſter week, accompanied by all their knights, and a conſiderable number of the common people; and they marched in formidable array to Brackley, the king being then at Oxford. Hearing of their approach, John ſent meſſengers to inquire what were the laws and liberties which they deſired. To theſe deputies the barons de-

18. Matth. Par. ad ann. 1215.—Matth. Weſtm. 19. Rym. Fœd. tom. i.

A. D. 1215. livered a ſchedule of their demands; affirming, that, if their ſovereign ſhould refuſe his aſſent, they would inſtantly declare war againſt him. John was no ſooner informed of the different articles which they had propoſed, than he furiouſly proteſted, that he would never grant ſuch conditions as would degrade him from his royal dignity into a ſtate of ſervitude. This declaration of the king impelled the barons into immediate action. They conferred the command of their forces on Robert Fitz-Walter, with the title of "mareſchal "of the army of God and the holy church;" and commenced their warlike operations with the ſiege of the royal caſtle of Northampton. Having beſieged it for a fortnight without ſucceſs, for want of a proper ſupply of battering engines, they repaired to Bedford, and received by voluntary ſurrender the caſtle of that town. While they continued in this neighbourhood, intelligence arrived from their friends in London, intimating that they would greatly forward their deſigns by advancing to that city, of which they might eaſily make themſelves maſters. Exulting in this information, they haſtened to the capital, and took poſſeſſion of it without moleſtation. They now diſpatched letters to all the nobles who had not yet engaged in the revolt, inviting them to join in the cauſe of liberty againſt a perjured tyrant, and threatening them, in caſe of non-compliance, with the deſtruction of their habitations, and the devaſtation of their lands. Theſe diſpatches had a rapid effect, the nobility and gentry flocking to London, to join the baronial army, which ſoon became ſo powerful as to defy the whole force which the king could muſter [20].

In this extremity, John requeſted the primate to excommunicate the rebels, for having riſen in arms

20. Matth. Par. p. 244, 245.

againſt

againſt a prince who had aſſumed the croſs; but Langton, being warmly intereſted in the cauſe of the barons, though he had not appeared as an open abettor of their inſurrection, found pretences for delaying the exerciſe of ſpiritual arms. Thus diſappointed, the king ſent a propoſal to the confederates, couched in the form of letters patent, offering to refer the conſideration of the liberties required by them either to the pope alone, or to eight noblemen, jointly with his holineſs, four of whom ſhould be named by himſelf, and the other four by the barons; and promiſing, that, with regard to the other objects of their ſolicitations, he would do them juſtice by the award of their peers. But the inſurgents rejected his propoſitions; and, conſcious of the diſparity of his force, he was at length conſtrained, by the perſevering boldneſs of an armed confederacy, to ſurrender at diſcretion. He ſent the earl of Pembroke to aſſure them, that he would grant their demands, and to appoint a place and time for a public conference, in which all diſputes ſhould be amicably adjuſted. A. D. 1215.

On the day appropriated to the deciſion of this momentous controverſy, the king and the few nobles who adhered to him appeared in an extenſive meadow between Staines and Windſor, immortaliſed in Engliſh hiſtory by the appellation of *Runymede*; and, on the oppoſite ſide of the mead, the barons and their numerous followers fixed their camp. After a diſcuſſion which continued for ſeveral days, the king ſubſcribed the great charter of Engliſh liberty, generally called by the Latin deſignation of *Magna Charta*[21]. He alſo June 15.

21. The reader will find a copy of this valuable inſtrument in the Appendix to the preſent volume, accompanied with a tranſlation. A brief commentary on the moſt important clauſes of it will be included in our remarks on the Engliſh conſtitution, in the third volume of this work.

A. D. 1215. granted a charter for the alleviation of the ſeverity of the foreſt-laws, and for the diminution of the number of the royal foreſts.

While the barons exulted in their victory over the king, he himſelf felt the keeneſt regret and mortification. He was particularly diſguſted with that part of his conceſſions which ordained the appointment of twenty-five barons, (named by the confederates), as guardians of the national liberties, who were authoriſed to complain to the king of every infraction of the charter, and, in caſe of not obtaining redreſs, to commence open hoſtilities againſt their ſovereign, in which all men throughout the realm were bound by oath to aſſiſt. He was now diſpoſed to conſider himſelf as a cipher in the adminiſtration of his own kingdom, and as a ſlave in the hands of the twenty-five commiſſioners, whoſe powers were ſo extenſive, and whoſe cauſe was ſo popular. He was ſo chagrined at the circumſcription of his authority, that he reſolved to take the earlieſt opportunity of renouncing his grants, as having been extorted from him by rebellious violence. He retired to the Iſle of Wight, where he reſided about three months, diveſted of the parade of royalty; and here, with ſome confidential friends, he projected his reſtoration to the prerogatives which he had been compelled to reſign. He diſpatched agents to the continent for the enliſtment of an army of mercenaries: he ſent orders to the governors of all his caſtles to provide a copious ſupply of proviſions and military ſtores, and repair the fortifications: he requeſted his lord-paramount, the pope, to annul the charter of liberties which he had granted, and vindicate his cauſe againſt his preſumptuous nobles. Innocent coincided with the views of his vaſſal, abſolved and even prohibited the king from adhering to the articles to which he had

had agreed, and commanded the barons, on pain of his apoſtolic diſpleaſure, not to exact the obſervance of ſuch unjuſt ſtipulations[22]. A. D. 1215.

The mercenaries had no ſooner landed in England than John emerged from his inſidious obſcurity, and inveſted the caſtle of Rocheſter, which had lately been garriſoned by the baronial troops. His army having been reinforced by a ſtrong corps of auxiliaries from thoſe parts of Aquitaine which he had not yet loſt, he was animated with confident hopes of prevailing over his enemies. The ſiege, however, detained him for two months; and he was ſo enraged at the reſiſtance of the garriſon, that he was inclined to put the whole number to death; but the remonſtrances of ſome of his officers induced him to content his revengeful ſpirit with the execution of a part of the inferior ſoldiery.

At this critical period, when the greateſt exertions were neceſſary for oppoſing the recovered ſtrength of the king, the barons appear to have acted with great indifference, ſupineneſs, and want of concert. They did not take proper ſteps for the relief of the citadel of Rocheſter, though it was garriſoned by ſome of their moſt experienced warriors, whoſe captivity, particularly that of William d'Albiney, proved very injurious to their intereſts.

During the late ſiege, the pope had excommunicated, by name, the principal of the allied barons. An indiſcriminate ſentence, promulgated not long before, had been found wholly inefficacious; but the new cenſures ſeem to have had ſome effect, in occaſioning the ſeceſſion of a few of the nobles from the confederacy. Taking advantage of this dawn of reviving proſperity, John marched to the northward, and increaſed, by the

22. Matth. Par.

A. D. 1215. moſt furious devaſtations, that terror which the report of his approach at the head of a numerous army had produced. To diſtreſs the inſurgents in the environs of the capital, he left in the ſouth one diviſion of his force, under the command of the earl of Saliſbury; and while this gallant nobleman met with great ſucceſs againſt the dejected rebels, the king drove the barons before him in the north, reduced their fortreſſes with little difficulty, and invaded the Scottiſh kingdom, whoſe ſovereign (Alexander II.) had abetted the Engliſh inſurgents. He burned ſeveral towns in the Lowlands, and treated the inhabitants with great barbarity; but was ſoon called back into England by the rumor of ſome alarming machinations of the barons [23].

A. D. 1216.

Reduced to extremity by the ſuperiority of the royal arms; incenſed at the inhuman devaſtations committed on their eſtates, as well as at the diſtribution of their lands among rapacious foreigners; and abhorring the idea of ſubmitting to ſo vindictive a tyrant as John; the principal confederates deliberated on the moſt effectual means of preventing their total ruin. After various conſultations, a deſperate remedy occurred to them, as the moſt conſiſtent with their deſperate ſituation. They agreed to invite prince Lewis of France to take that crown which they deemed John unworthy of poſſeſſing, and which, they affirmed, he had forfeited by his murder of the rightful heir, and by his ſurrendering an independent ſovereignty into the hands of the pope, in repugnance to the ſpirit of the conſtitution. To give plauſibility to their choice of Lewis, they aſſerted, that, in right of his wife Blanche, the grand-daughter of Henry II. he had pretenſions to the crown of England [24].

23. Matth. Par.—Chron. Mailr. p. 269, 274.

24. Matth. Par.

The

The French king and his ſon received the propoſal of the Engliſh barons with great ſatisfaction. They ſent over an army of 7000 men, to co-operate with the opponents of John. Theſe troops repaired to London, which was ſtill in the hands of the barons, and which the king was now deterred from beſieging. When Lewis had completed his preparations, he embarked for England with a fleet of 600 ſail, and landed his army in Kent without oppoſition; for the ſhipping which John had provided for the defence of his coaſts, had been diſabled by a tempeſt. That monarch was at Dover when Lewis diſembarked; but he was unwilling to march againſt the invader, from an apprehenſion of being deſerted by ſuch of his mercenaries as were ſubjects of the French monarchy. He therefore retired into Hants; while the French prince, after having ſubdued the whole county of Kent, except the caſtle of Dover, proceeded to London, and received the homage of the barons there aſſembled, as well as of the citizens, to whom he gave ſolemn aſſurances of good government and protection. Regardleſs of a ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt him for his invaſion of a kingdom of which the pope was ſuperior lord, Lewis proceeded to wage war againſt John, who ſoon felt the ruinous effects of deſertion. The French quickly reduced Suſſex, Hants, and the neighbouring counties; and then over-ran the Eaſt-Anglian territories; after which the prince returned into Kent, at the deſire of his father, who had reproved him for his neglect in not having gained poſſeſſion of Dover caſtle, the key of the realm. He now haraſſed the garriſon of that fortreſs with continual and vigorous aſſaults; but the reſiſtance which he met with was obſtinate and intrepid; at which he was ſo enraged, that he ſwore he would not quit his ſtation, till he had taken the place by

A. D. 1216. Feb.

May 21.

A. D. 1216. ſtorm, and hanged all the defenders of it. This ſpecimen of his temper could not be very pleaſing to the Engliſh; and a report, which was generally credited, of a ſolemn declaration of a French nobleman on his death-bed, that Lewis had ſworn, in caſe of his ſucceſs, to expel from the realm all the Engliſh barons of his party, as traitors to their natural ſovereign, is ſuppoſed to have greatly injured the intereſts of the Gallic prince. At the ſame time, his extravagant partiality to his French attendants excited the jealouſy of the Engliſh nobles, and concurred with other cauſes of diſpleaſure to occaſion a regret for their precipitate ſolicitations of a foreign yoke.

Many excurſions were made by the barons from their head-quarters at London, to haraſs and plunder thoſe who adhered to the king; while the latter ravaged with fire and ſword the demeſnes of his opponents. The inſurgents at length inveſted Windſor caſtle, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the kingdom; and, after loſing ſome time in this ſiege, they reſolved to make an effort for intercepting John in his retreat; but, having early intelligence of their ſchemes, he eluded their attempts. Some of their number then joined Lewis at Dover, where the young king of Scotland ſoon after appeared, and performed homage to the French prince for his lands in England, including the three northern counties, which Lewis granted him by charter [25].

The imprudence of Lewis, and the reflexions of the barons on their temporary diſregard of the dictates of true patriotiſm in having invited an alien to reign over them, had already operated in favor of John; and that monarch looked forward with confidence to his ultimate triumph over his French competitor. While Lewis lin-

25. Matth. Par.—Rym. Fœd.

gered

gered at Dover, the king displayed unusual activity in the work of ravage and depredation; but his destructive career was now arrested by the hand of fate. Having relieved the castle of Lincoln, he passed some days at Lynn, where the inhabitants treated him with the most loyal respect, and where the favors of this prince are still the object of grateful remembrance. Thence he returned towards the midland parts, with hopes of assembling an army of sufficient strength to cope with the rebels in a general engagement. In passing over the washes, he was surprised by the tide, and lost all his baggage, treasures, and *regalia*. His fatigues and distractions of mind had before disordered his person; and this accident increased his indisposition. Being entertained at the abbey of Swineshead, he is supposed to have injured his constitution by a surfeit [26]; but the augmentation of his malady did not disable him from reaching Newark, where his life and his misfortunes terminated. He was, at this time, in the fifty-first year of his age, and had exceeded the seventeenth year of his reign. Before he expired, dispatches are said to have arrived at Newark from near forty of the barons, professing a desire of reconciliation [27].

A. D. 1216.

Oct. 19.

26. The story of his having been poisoned by a monk of this abbey, is unmentioned by any cotemporary writer, and is generally regarded as the produce of narrative invention.

27. Matth. Par. p. 277.—By the directions of his last will, he was interred in the cathedral of Worcester. By Isabella of Angoulesme, he had two sons, *viz*. Henry his successor, and Richard earl of Cornwal; and three daughters, namely, Jane, who was married to Alexander II. king of Scotland; Eleanor, the wife of William Mareschal the younger, earl of Pembroke, and afterwards of the famous Simon de Montfort; and Isabella, who espoused the emperor Frederic II. His natural sons were numerous, but undistinguished in the records of fame. He had one illegitimate daughter, who acquired the title of princess of North-Wales by her marriage with Llewellyn.

Among

A. D. 1216. Among the princes of the Anglo-Norman line, John held the loweſt rank, both in the qualities of his head and heart. He did not poſſeſs the abilities or the energy of the Conqueror; the active courage or the magnanimity of Rufus; the political wiſdom or the accurate judgment of the firſt Henry; the liberal manners or the clemency of Stephen; the comprehenſive mind, the moral integrity, or the dignified humanity, of Henry Plantagenet; the martial talents or the heroiſm of Richard Cœur-de-Lion. But, as a negative delineation of character is leſs perfect than the preciſion of affirmative remark, we will endeavour to trace, in a more definite manner, the leading features of John's portrait.

He was endowed by nature with little ſagacity or penetration; and we do not learn that he made any progreſs in the acquiſition of learning or ſcience, being of too light and diſſipated a turn to devote any ſhare of his attention to the ſtudies of mental improvement. The weakneſs of his judgment was conſpicuous in moſt of the tranſactions of his life; and his conduct ſeems to have been more influenced by the ſuggeſtions of caprice, than by regular principles of moral or political deliberation. From his youth he was ambitious of power; but he deſired it leſs from the motives of an aſpiring and emulous temper, than from a wiſh to enjoy the opportunities which it afforded for the gratification of his prodigality, and his propenſity to the whole train of ſenſual delights. The inconſtancy of his mind indiſpoſed him for ſerious reflexion; and the warmth of his paſſions hurried him into diſgraceful exceſſes. His rapacity was ſo unbounded, that he behaved as an arbitrary plunderer, rather than as a prince who demanded only adequate ſupplies for the neceſſary purpoſes of public expenditure. The avidity of the

firſt

first William, though the object of historic execration, was exceeded by that of John, whose exactions formed one of the principal causes of the confederacy of his barons against him. But the tyranny of his government did not consist solely in rapine. It was a series of inhuman rigor, frequent breaches of faith, and flagrant encroachments on the rights of the people, accompanied with a contemptuous arrogance even to his most faithful subjects, and a course of daring violations of the chaste honor of private families. These outrages could not but rouse the indignant feelings of the nation; and it was not a matter of astonishment, that the haughty barons should at length rush into arms for the vindication of their invaded liberties and their insulted dignity. A. D. 1216.

His pusillanimity appeared so strongly on several occasions, that his warlike nobles regarded him with contempt. He was unwilling to face his enemies in the field; and his martial exploits, of which he was accustomed to make the most pompous boasts, were confined to petty assaults of fortifications, or an unresisted career of savage devastation. It is remarked, that cowardice and cruelty are generally allied; and the observation is exemplified in the character of John, whose merciless and vindictive spirit was frequently displayed both in the camp and in the cabinet. His dereliction of Normandy and Anjou to the arms of Philip Augustus, argued an indolent tameness, and a meanness of submission, degrading to the dignity of a monarch and the honest pride of a man. His subjection of his kingdom to the pope was another instance of his want of fortitude; but this act was more excusable than some of his compliances, as he was menaced at the time with a formidable invasion from France, was under an actual sentence of excommunication, and was

A. D. 1216. juſtly apprehenſive of the defection of his ſubjects, among whom the prevalence of diſcontent was then almoſt univerſal.

In addition to his political miſconduct, he made a deſpicable figure in the relations of ſocial and domeſtic life. He was an ungrateful ſon, an ungenerous brother, an inhuman uncle, and an inconſtant huſband. To his father, who had behaved towards him with the moſt affectionate regard, he made a requital of conſpiracy and rebellion: his brother Richard, who had gratified him with a plurality of eſtates, he endeavoured to dethrone and ruin: he procured the deſtruction of his nephew, whom he had alſo defrauded of a crown. He expreſſed a contempt for religion, and made it the object of his occaſional raillery; but the account of his having ſent an ambaſſy to the *Amir-al-Mumenin*, or Saracen emperor of Morocco, with a promiſe of embracing the Mohammedan faith, on condition of being protected by that potentate, is too improbable to be adopted as a fact.

The beſt *traits* of this monarch's government were, his attention to the ſtate of his navy, his encouragement of mercantile intercourſe, and his augmentation of the importance of the commons, by erecting many towns into free boroughs, and conferring additional privileges on the metropolis of his realm. Notwithſtanding theſe commendable parts of his reign, it muſt be acknowledged that he was a pernicious ſovereign and a contemptible man. Let not the candid reader ſuppoſe that we have exaggerated his failings, or magnified his iniquities. The character which we have given of him is juſtified by the concurring ſentiments of hiſtorians, and the deciſive evidence of undiſputed facts.

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APPENDIX.

BRITISH MUSEUM

APPENDIX.

MAGNA CHARTA REGIS JOHANNIS, XV die Junii, MCCXV, Anno Regni xvii.

JOHANNES (Dei gratiâ) rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, et comes Andegaviæ, archiepiſcopis, epiſcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, juſticiariis, foreſtariis, vicecomitibus, præpoſitis, miniſtris, et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus ſuis, ſalutem. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei, et pro ſalute animæ noſtræ, et omnium anteceſſorum et hæredum noſtrorum, ad honorem Dei et exaltationem ſanctæ eccleſiæ et emendationem regni noſtri, per conſilium venerabilium patrum noſtrorum, Stephani Cant' archiepiſcopi, totius Angliæ primatis, et ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ cardinalis, Henrici Dublin' archiepiſcopi, Willielmi London', Petri Winton', Joſcelini Bathon' et Glaſton', Hugonis Lincoln', Walteri Wigorn', Willielmi Coventr', et Benedicti Roff', epiſcoporum; magiſtri Pandulfi domini papæ ſubdiaconi et familiaris, fratris Eymerici magiſtri militiæ templi in Angliâ; et nobilium virorum Willielmi Mariſcalli comitis Penbrok, Willielmi comitis Sar', Willielmi comitis Warenn', Willielmi comitis Arundel', Alani de Galweya conſtabula: ii Scottiæ, Warini filii

The GREAT CHARTER of KING JOHN, granted on the 15th Day of June, 1215, in the ſeventeenth Year of his Reign.

JOHN, (by the grace of God) king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to all his archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, earls, barons, juſticiaries, foreſters, ſheriffs, governors, officers, and to all his bailiffs and faithful ſubjects, *wiſheth* health. Know ye, that we, from our regard to God, and for the ſalvation of our own ſoul, and of the ſouls of our anceſtors, and of our heirs, to the honor of God, the exaltation of our holy church, and the amendment of our kingdom, by the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and cardinal of the holy Roman church, Henry archbiſhop of Dublin, William of London, Peter of Wincheſter, Joceline of Bath and Glaſtonbury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worceſter, William of Coventry, Benedict of Rocheſter, biſhops; of maſter Pandulph, the pope's ſubdeacon and familiar, brother Eymeric maſter of the knights-templars in England, and of the following noble perſons, William Mariſchal, earl of Pembroke, William earl of Saliſbury, William

filii Geroldi, Petri filii Hereberti, Huberti de Burgo seneſcalli Pictaviæ, Hugonis de Nevill', Matthæi filii Hereberti, Thomæ Baſſet, Alani Baſſet, Philippi de Albin', Roberti de Roppel', Johannis Mariſcalli, Johannis filii Hugonis, et aliorum fidelium noſtrorum; in primis conceſſiſſe Deo, et hac præſenti charta noſtra confirmaſſe, pro nobis et hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum;

1. Quod Anglicana eccleſia libera ſit, et habeat jura ſua integra, et libertates ſuas illæſas; et ita volumus obſervari, quòd apparet ex eo, quòd libertatem electionum, quæ maxima et magis neceſſaria reputatur eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, merâ et ſpontaneâ voluntate, ante diſcordiam inter nos et barones noſtros motam, conceſſimus, et chartâ noſtrâ confirmavimus, et eam obtinuimus a domino papa Innocentio tertio confirmari, quam et nos obſervabimus, et ab hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum bona fide volumus obſervari. Conceſſimus etiam omnibus liberis hominibus regni noſtri, pro nobis et hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum, omnes libertates ſubſcriptas, habendas et tenendas eis et hæredibus ſuis de nobis et hæredibus noſtris.

2. Si quis comitum vel baronum noſtrorum, ſive aliorum tenentium de nobis in capite per ſervitium militare, mortuus fuerit, et, cum deceſſerit, hæres ſuus plenæ ætatis fuerit et relevium debeat, habeat hæreditatem ſuam per antiquum relevium; ſcilicet hæres vel hæredes comitis de baroniâ comitis integrâ, per centum libras; hæres vel hæredes

William earl of Warrenne, William earl of Arundel, Alan of Galloway conſtable of Scotland, Warin Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert de Burgh ſeneſchal of Poictou, Hugh de Nevil, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Baſſet, Alan Baſſet, Philip d'Albiney, Robert de Roppel, John Mariſchal, John Fitz-Hugh, and of others of our liegemen; have granted to God, and by this our preſent charter have confirmed, for us, and our heirs for ever:

1ſt. That the Engliſh church ſhall be free, and ſhall have her whole rights, and her liberties inviolate; and we will have this obſerved in ſuch a manner, that it may appear thence, that the freedom of election, which was reputed moſt neceſſary to the Engliſh church, which we granted, and by our charter confirmed, and of which we obtained the confirmation from pope Innocent III. before the rupture between us and our barons, was granted of our own free will. Which charter we ſhall obſerve; and we order it to be obſerved, with good faith, by our heirs for ever.—We have alſo granted to all the freemen of our kingdom, for us and our heirs for ever, all the under-written liberties, to be enjoyed and holden by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs.

2. If any of our earls or barons, or others who hold of us in chief by military ſervice, ſhall die, and at his death his heir ſhall be of full age, and owe a relief, he ſhall have his inheritance by the ancient relief, viz. the heir or heirs of an earl, for a whole earl's barony, by one hundred pounds; the heir or heirs of a baron, for a whole barony,

des baronis de baroniâ integrâ, per centum libras; hæres vel hæredes militis de feodo militis integro, per centum solidos ad plus; et qui minus debuerit minus det secundum antiquam consuetudinem feodorum.

3. Si autem hæres alicujus talium fuerit infra ætatem, et fuerit in custodia, cum ad ætatem pervenerit habeat hæreditatem suam sine relevio et sine fine.

4. Custos terræ hujusmodi hæredis qui infra ætatem fuerit, non capiat de terra hæredis nisi rationabiles exitus, et rationabiles consuetudines, et rationabilia servitia; et hoc sine destructione et vasto hominum vel rerum; et si nos commiserimus custodiam alicujus talis terræ vicecomiti vel alicui alii qui de exitibus illius nobis respondere debeat, et ille destructionem de custodiâ fecerit vel vastum, nos ab illo capiemus emendam, et terra committatur duobus legalibus et discretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui de exitibus respondeant nobis, vel ei cui eos assignaverimus; et si dederimus vel vendiderimus alicui custodiam alicujus talis terræ, et ille destructionem inde fecerit vel vastum, amittat ipsam custodiam, et tradatur duobus legalibus et discretis hominibus de feodo illo, qui similiter nobis respondeant sicut predictum est.

5. Custos autem, quamdiu custodiam terræ habuerit, sustentet domos, parcos, vivaria, stagna, molendina, et cetera ad terram illam pertinentia, de exitibus terræ ejusdem; et reddat hæredi, cum ad plenam ætatem pervenerit, terram suam totam instauratam de carrucis et wainnagiis secundùm quod

barony, by one hundred pounds[1]; the heir or heirs of a knight, for a whole knight's fee, by one hundred shillings at most; and he who owes less, shall give less, according to the ancient custom of fees.

3. But if the heir of any such persons be a minor, and in ward-ship, when he comes of age he shall have his inheritance without relief and without fine.

4. The warden of an heir who is under age, shall not take of the lands of the heir any but reasonable issues, reasonable customs, and reasonable services, and that without destruction and waste of the tenants or effects; and if we commit the custody of any such lands to a sheriff, or to any other person who is bound to answer to us for the issues of them, and he shall make destruction or waste upon the ward-lands, we will recover damages of him, and the lands shall be committed to two legal and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer for the issues to us, or to him to whom we have assigned them: and if we grant or sell to any one the custody of any such lands, and he shall make destruction or waste, he shall lose the custody which, shall be committed to two legal and discreet men of that fee, who shall answer to us as was said before.

5. The warden, as long as he shall have the custody of the lands, shall keep in order the houses, parks, warrens, ponds, mills, and other things belonging to them, out of their issues; and shall deliver to the heir, when of age, his whole estate provided with ploughs and other implements of agriculture,

1. This is *marks* in Matthew Paris; a reading which seems preferable. *M. Paris*, edit. Tigur. p. 246.

quod tempus wainnagii exiget et exitus terræ rationabiliter poterunt ſuſtinere.

6. Hæredes maritentur abſque diſparagatione, ita tamen quod, antequam contrahatur matrimonium, oſtendatur propinquis de conſanguinitate ipſius hæredis.

7. Vidua, poſt mortem mariti ſui, ſtatim et ſine difficultate habeat maritagium et hæreditatem ſuam, nec aliquid det pro dote ſuâ, vel pro maritagio ſuo, vel hæreditate ſuâ, quam hæreditatem maritus ſuus et ipſa tenuerint die obitus ipſius mariti; et maneat in domo mariti ſui per quadraginta dies poſt mortem ipſius, infra quos aſſignetur ei dos ſua.

8. Nulla vidua diſtringatur ad ſe maritandum, dum voluerit vivere ſine marito; ita tamen quod ſecuritatem faciat quod ſe non maritabit ſine aſſenſu noſtro, ſi de nobis tenuerit, vel ſine aſſenſu domini ſui de quo tenuerit, ſi de alio tenuerit.

9. Nec nos nec ballivi noſtri ſeiſiemus terram aliquam nec redditum pro debito aliquo quamdiu catalla debitoris ſufficiunt ad debitum reddendum; nec pleggii ipſius debitoris diſtringantur quamdiu ipſe capitalis debitor ſufficit ad ſolutionem debiti; et ſi capitalis debitor defecerit in ſolutione debiti, non habens unde ſolvat, pleggii reſpondeant de debito, et, ſi voluerint, habeant terras et redditus debitoris, donec ſit eis ſatisfactum de debito quod ante pro eo ſolverint, niſi capitalis debitor monſtraverit ſe eſſe quietum inde verſus eoſdem pleggios.

10. Si

ture, according to what the ſeaſon requires, and the profits of the lands can reaſonably afford.

6. Heirs ſhall be married without diſparagement, and before the marriage is contracted it ſhall be notified to the relations of the heir by conſanguinity.

7. A widow, after the death of her huſband, ſhall immediately, and without difficulty, have her marriage-goods and her inheritance; nor ſhall ſhe give any thing for her dower, or her marriage-goods, or her inheritance, which her huſband and ſhe held on the day of his death. And ſhe may remain in her huſband's houſe forty days after his death, within which time her dower ſhall be aſſigned to her.

8. No widow ſhall be compelled to marry, while ſhe thinks proper to live without a huſband; but ſhe ſhall give ſecurity that ſhe will not marry without our conſent, if ſhe holds of us, or without the conſent of the lord of whom ſhe holds, if ſhe holds of another.

9. Neither we nor our bailiffs ſhall ſeiſe any land or rents for any debt, while the chattels of the debtor are ſufficient for the payment of it; nor ſhall the ſureties of the debtor be diſtrained, while the principal debtor is able to pay the debt: and if the principal debtor fail in payment of the debt, not having the means for diſcharging it, the ſureties ſhall anſwer for the debt; and, if they pleaſe, they ſhall have the lands and rents of the debtor, till ſatisfaction be made to them for the debt which they had before paid for him, unleſs the principal debtor can ſhew that he is diſcharged from it by the ſaid ſureties.

10. If

10. Si quis mutuò ceperit aliquid a Judæis, plus vel minus, et moriatur antequam debitum illud ſolvatur, debitum non uſuret quamdiu hæres fuerit infra ætatem, de quocumque teneat; et ſi debitum illud inciderit in manus noſtras, nos non capiemus niſi catallum contentum in chartâ.

10. If any one ſhall have borrowed from the Jews, more or leſs, and die before that debt is paid, the debt ſhall be liable to no intereſt as long as the heir ſhall be under age, of whomſoever he holds; and if that debt ſhall fall into our hands, we will not take any thing, except the chattels contained in the bond.

11. Et; ſi quis moriatur et debitum debeat Judæis, uxor ejus habeat dotem ſuam et nihil reddat de debito illo; et, ſi liberi ipſius defuncti, qui fuerint infra ætatem, remanſerint, provideantur eis neceſſaria ſecundùm tenementum quod fuerit defuncti, et de reſiduo ſolvatur debitum ſalvo ſervitio dominorum. Simili modo fiat de debitis quæ debentur aliis quam Judæis.

11. And if any one dies indebted to the Jews, his wife ſhall have her dower, and pay nothing of that debt; and if children of the defunct remain who are under age, neceſſaries ſhall be provided for them, according to the tenement which belonged to the defunct; and out of the ſurplus the debt ſhall be paid ſaving the rights of the lords. The ſame rules ſhall be obſerved with reſpect to debts due to others than Jews.

12. Nullum ſcutagium vel auxilium ponatur in regno noſtro, niſi per commune conſilium regni noſtri, niſi ad corpus noſtrum redimendum, et primogenitum filium noſtrum militem faciendum, et ad filiam noſtram primogenitam ſemel maritandam; et ad hæc non fiat niſi rationabile auxilium. Simili modo fiat de auxiliis de civitate London'.

12. No ſcutage or aid ſhall be impoſed, except by the common council of our kingdom, but for redeeming our perſon, for making our eldeſt ſon a knight, and for once marrying our eldeſt daughter; and for theſe a reaſonable aid ſhall be demanded. This extends to the aids of the city of London.

13. Et civitas London' habeat omnes antiquas libertates et liberas conſuetudines ſuas tam per terras quam per aquas. Præterea volumus et concedimus quod omnes aliæ civitates, et burgi, et villæ et portus, habeant omnes libertates et liberas conſuetudines ſuas.

13. And the city of London ſhall have all her ancient liberties, and her free cuſtoms, as well by land as by water. Beſides, we grant, that all other cities, burghs, towns, and ſea-ports, ſhall have all their liberties and free cuſtoms.

14. Et ad habendum commune conſilium regni de auxilio aſſidendo, aliter quam in tribus caſibus prædictis, vel de ſcutagio aſſidendo, ſummoneri faciemus archiepiſcopos, epiſcopos, abbates, comites,

14. And to have a common council of the kingdom, to aſſeſs an aid, otherwiſe than in the three caſes above-mentioned, or to aſſeſs a ſcutage, we will cauſe to be ſummoned the archbiſhops, biſhops,

tes, et majores barones, ſigillatim per literas noſtras; et præterea faciemus ſummoneri in generali, per vicecomites et ballivos noſtros, omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite, ad certum diem, ſcilicet ad terminum quadraginta dierum ad minus, et ad certum locum; et, in omnibus litteris illius ſummonitionis, cauſam ſummonitionis exprimemus; et ſic facta ſummonitione negotium ad diem aſſignatum procedat, ſecundum conſilium illorum qui præſentes fuerint, quamvis non omnes ſummoniti venerint.

15. Nos non concedemus de cetero alicui quod capiat auxilium de liberis hominibus ſuis, niſi ad corpus ſuum redimendum, et ad faciendum primogenitum filium ſuum militem, et ad primogenitam filiam ſuam ſemel maritandam; et ad hæc non fiat niſi rationabile auxilium.

16. Nullus diſtringatur ad faciendum majus ſervitium de feodo militis, nec de alio libero tenemento, quam inde debetur.

17. Communia placita non ſequantur curiam noſtram, ſed teneantur in aliquo loco certo.

18. Recognitiones de novâ diſſaiſinâ, de morte anteceſſoris, et de ultimâ preſentatione, non capiantur niſi in ſuis comitatibus, et hoc modo. Nos, vel (ſi extra regnum fuerimus) capitalis juſticiarius noſter, mittemus duos juſticiarios per unumquemque comitatum per quatuor vices in anno, qui cum quatuor militibus cujuſlibet comitatus electis per comitatum capiant in comitatu et in die et loco comitatûs aſſiſas prædictas.

19. Et ſi in die comitatûs aſſiſæ prædictæ capi non poſſint, tot milites

ſhops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, ſingly by our letters; and beſides, we will cauſe to be ſummoned in general, by our ſheriffs and bailiffs, all thoſe who hold of us in chief, to a certain day, at the diſtance of forty days at leaſt, and to a certain place; and in all the letters of ſummons, we will expreſs the cauſe of the ſummons; and the ſummons being thus made, the buſineſs ſhall go on at the day appointed, according to the advice of thoſe who ſhall be preſent, though all who had been ſummoned may not have come.

15. We will not give leave to any one, for the future, to take an aid of his free tenants, except for redeeming his own perſon, making his eldeſt ſon a knight, and marrying once his eldeſt daughter; and then only a reaſonable aid.

16. Let none be diſtrained to perform more ſervice for a knight's fee, or any other free tenement, than what is due.

17. Common pleas ſhall not follow our court, but ſhall be holden in ſome certain place.

18. Aſſiſes on the writs of Novel Diſſeiſin, Mort d'Anceſtre (death of the anceſtor), and Darrein preſentment (laſt preſentation), ſhall not be taken but in their proper counties, and in this manner.—We, or our chief juſticiary when we are out of the kingdom, ſhall ſend two juſticiaries into each county, four times a year, who, with four knights of each county, choſen by the county, ſhall take the ſaid aſſiſes, at a ſtated time and place, within the county.

19. And if the ſaid aſſiſes cannot be taken on the day of the county-

lites et libere tenentes remaneant de illis qui interfuerint comitatui die illo, per quos possint judicia sufficienter fieri secundum quod negotium fuerit majus vel minus.

20. Liber homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto, nisi secundùm modum delicti; et pro magno delicto, amercietur secundùm magnitudinem delicti, salvo contenemento suo; et mercator eodem modo salvâ mercandisâ suâ; et villanus eodem modo amercietur salvo waynagio suo, si inciderit in misericordiam nostram; et nulla prædictarum misericordiarum ponatur nisi per sacramentum proborum hominum de visneto.

21. Comites et barones non amercientur nisi per pares suos et non nisi secundùm modum delicti.

22. Nullus clericus amercietur de laico tenemento suo nisi secundùm modum aliorum prædictorum, et non secundùm quantitatem beneficii sui ecclesiastici.

23. Nec villa nec homo distringatur facere pontes ad riparias, nisi qui ab antiquo et de jure facere debent.

24. Nullus vicecomes, constabularius, coronatores, vel alli ballivi nostri, teneant placita coronæ nostræ.

25. Omnes comitatus, hundredi, wapentakia, et trethingi, sint ad antiquas firmas, absque ullo incremento, exceptis dominicis maneriis nostris.

county-court, let as many knights and freeholders, of those who were present at the county-court, remain behind, as may be sufficient to take the said assises, according to the greater or less importance of the business.

20. A freeman shall not be amerced for a small offence, but according to the degree of the offence; and for a great delinquency, according to the magnitude of the delinquency, saving his contenement[2]: a merchant shall be amerced in the same manner, saving his merchandise; and a villain, saving his implements of husbandry. If they fall into our mercy, none of the said amerciaments shall be assessed, but by the oath of honest men of the vicinage.

21. Earls and barons shall not be amerced but by their peers, and then only according to the degree of their delinquency.

22. No clerk shall be amerced for his lay-tenement, but according to the manner of others aforesaid, and not according to the quantity of his ecclesiastical benefice.

23. Neither a town nor a tenant shall be distrained to build bridges, or make embankments, except those who anciently, and of right, are bound to do it.

24. No sheriff, constable, coroner, or bailiff of ours, shall hold pleas of our crown.

25. All counties, hundreds, wapentacks, and trithings, shall be at the ancient rent, without any increase, except our demesne-manors.

2. A *contenement* is a reservation of those possessions without which a person could not pursue his former occupation.

26. Si aliquis tenens de nobis laicum feodum moriatur, et vicecomes vel ballivus noſter oſtendat litteras noſtras patentes de ſummonitione noſtra de debito quod defunctus nobis debuit, liceat vicecomiti vel ballivo noſtro attachiare et inbreviare catalla defuncti inventa in laico feodo, ad valentiam illius debiti, per viſum legalium hominum, ita tamen quod nihil inde amoveatur donec perſolvatur nobis debitum; quod clarum fuerit et reſiduum relinquatur executoribus ad faciendum teſtamentum defuncti; et, ſi nihil nobis debeatur ab ipſo, omnia catalla cedant defuncto, ſalvis uxori ipſius et pueris rationabilibus partibus ſuis.

26. If any one holding of us a lay-fee dies, and the ſheriff or our bailiff ſhall ſhew our letters-patent of our ſummons for a debt which the defunct owed to us, it ſhall be lawful for the ſheriff or our bailiff to attach and regiſter the chattels of the defunct found on that fee, to the amount of that debt, at the view of lawful men, ſo that nothing ſhall be removed thence till our debt is paid to us. The clear overplus ſhall be left to the executors, to fulfil the teſtament of the defunct; and if nothing is due to us from him, all the chattels ſhall devolve to the defunct, ſaving to his wife and children their reaſonable ſhares.

27. Si aliquis liber homo inteſtatus deceſſerit, catalla ſua per manus propinquorum parentum et amicorum ſuorum, per viſum eccleſiæ diſtribuantur, ſalvis unicuique debitis quæ defunctus ei debebat.

27. If any freeman ſhall die inteſtate, his chattels ſhall be diſtributed by his neareſt relations and friends, at the view of the church, ſaving to every one the debts which the defunct owed to him.

28. Nullus conſtabularius vel alius ballivus noſter capiat blada vel alia catalla alicujus, niſi ſtatim inde reddat denarios aut reſpectum inde habere poſſit de voluntate venditoris.

28. No conſtable or bailiff of ours ſhall take the corn or other goods of any one, without inſtantly paying money for them, unleſs he can obtain reſpite by the conſent of the ſeller.

29. Nullus conſtabularius diſtringat aliquem militem ad dandum denarios pro cuſtodiâ caſtri, ſi facere voluerit cuſtodiam illam in propriâ perſonâ ſuâ, vel per alium probum hominem ſi ipſe eam facere non poſſit propter rationabilem cauſam; et ſi nos duxerimus vel miſerimus eum in exercitum, erit quietus de cuſtodiâ ſecundùm quantitatem temporis quo per nos fuerit in exercitu.

29. No conſtable (governor of a caſtle) ſhall diſtrain any knight to give money for caſtle-guard, if he is willing to perform it by his own perſon, or by another proper man, if he cannot perform it himſelf, for a reaſonable cauſe. And if we ſhall have led or ſent him into the army, he ſhall be excuſed from caſtle-guard, according to the ſpace of time he ſhall have been in the army at our command.

30. Nullus vicecomes vel ballivus noſter vel aliquis alius capiat equos vel caretas alicujus liberi hominis

30. No ſheriff or bailiff of ours, or any other perſon, ſhall take the horſes or carts of any freeman,

hominis pro cariagio faciendo, niſi de voluntate ipſius liberi hominis.

31. Nec nos nec ballivi noſtri capiemus alienum boſcum ad caſtra, vel alia agenda noſtra, niſi per voluntatem ipſius cujus boſcus ille fuerit.

32. Nos non tenebimus terras illorum qui convicti fuerint de feloniâ, niſi per unum annum et unum diem, et tunc reddantur terræ dominis feodorum.

33. Omnes kydelli de cetero deponantur penitus de Thamiſia, et de Medewaye, et per totam Angliam, niſi per coſteram maris.

34. Breve quod vocatur Præcipe de cetero non fiat alicui de aliquo tenemento unde liber homo amittere poſſit curiam ſuam.

35. Una menſura vini ſit per totum regnum noſtrum, et una menſura cerviſiæ, et una menſura bladi, ſcilicet quarterium London', et una latitudo pannorum tinctorum et ruſſettorum et halbergettorum, ſcilicet duæ ulnæ infra liſtas: de ponderibus autem ſit ut de menſuris.

36. Nihil detur vel capiatur de cetero pro brevi inquiſitionis de vitâ vel membris, ſed gratis concedatur et non negetur.

37. Si aliquis teneat de nobis per feodi-firmam, vel per ſokagium, vel per burgagium, et de alio terram teneat per ſervitium militare, nos non habebimus cuſtodiam hæredis nec terræ ſuæ quæ eſt de feodo alterius, occaſione illius feodi-firmæ, vel ſokagii, vel burgagii, nec habebimus cuſtodiam illius feodi-firmæ, vel ſokagii, vel burgagii, niſi ipſa feodi-firma debeat

for carriage, without the conſent of the ſaid freeman.

31. Neither we, nor our bailiffs, ſhall take another man's wood, for our caſtles or other uſes, without the conſent of him to whom the wood belongs.

32. We will not retain the lands of thoſe who have been convicted of felony, above one year and one day, and then they ſhall be given up to the lord of the fee.

33. All kydells (wears) for the future ſhall be quite removed out of the Thames, the Medway, and throughout all England, except on the ſea-coaſt.

34. The writ which is called *Præcipe* for the future ſhall not be granted to any one concerning any tenement by which a freeman may loſe his court.

35. There ſhall be only one meaſure of wine through all our kingdom, and one meaſure of ale, and one meaſure of corn, viz. the quarter of London; and one breadth of dyed cloth and of ruſſets, and of halberjects, viz. two ells within the liſts. It ſhall be the ſame with weights as with meaſures.

36. Nothing ſhall be given or taken in future for the writ of inquiſition of life or limb; but it ſhall be given gratis, and not denied.

37. If any one holds of us by fee-farm, or ſoccage, or burgage, and holds an eſtate of another by military ſervice, we will not have the cuſtody of the heir, or of his land, which is of the fee of another, on account of that fee-farm, or ſoccage, or burgage, nor will we have the care of that fee-farm itſelf, or ſoccage, or burgage, unleſs the fee-farm owes military ſervice. We

beat ſervitium militare. Nos non habebimus cuſtodiam hæredis vel terræ alicujus quam tenet de alio per ſervitium militare, occaſione alicujus parvæ ſergenteriæ, quam tenet de nobis per ſervitium reddendi nobis cultellos, vel ſagittas, vel hujuſmodi.

38. Nullus ballivus ponat de cetero aliquem ad legem ſimplici loquelâ ſuâ ſine teſtibus fidehibus ad hoc inductis.

39. Nullus liber homo capiatur vel impriſonetur aut diſſaiſiatur aut utlagetur, aut aliquo modo deſtruatur, nec ſuper eum ibimus nec ſuper eum mittemus niſi per legale judicium parium ſuorum vel per legem terræ.

40. Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus aut differemus rectum aut juſticiam.

41. Omnes mercatores habeant ſalvum et ſecurum exire de Anglia et venire in Angliam et morari et ire per Angliam, tam per terram quam per aquam, ad emendum et vendendum, ſine omnibus malis toltis, per antiquas et rectas conſuetudines, præterquam in tempore gwerræ et ſi ſint de terrâ contra nos gwerriva; et ſi tales inveniantur in terrâ noſtrâ in principio gwerræ, attachiantur, ſine dampno corporum et rerum, donec ſciatur a nobis, vel capitali juſticiario noſtro, quomodo mercatores terræ noſtræ tractentur qui tunc invenientur in terra contra nos gwerriva; et ſi noſtri ſalvi ſint ibi, alii ſalvi ſint in terrâ noſtrâ.

42. Liceat unicuique de cetero exire de regno noſtro et redire ſalvo et ſecurè per terram et per aquam, ſalvâ fide noſtrâ, niſi tempore gwerræ per aliquod breve tempus propter communem utilitatem

ſhall not have the cuſtody of the heir, or of the land of any one, which he holds of another by military ſervice, on account of any petty ſergeantry which he holds of us, by giving us knives, arrows, or the like.

38. No bailiff, for the future, ſhall put any man to his law, upon his own ſimple affirmation, without credible witneſſes produced to that purpoſe.

39. No freeman ſhall be ſeiſed, or impriſoned, or diſſeiſed, or outlawed, or any way deſtroyed, nor will we try him, or paſs ſentence on him, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

40. To none will we ſell, to none will we deny, to none will we delay right or juſtice.

41. All merchants ſhall be ſafe and ſecure in coming into England, in going out of England, and ſtaying and traveling through England, as well by land as by water, to buy and to ſell, without any unjuſt exactions, according to ancient and right cuſtoms, except in time of war, and if they be of a nation at war againſt us. And if ſuch are found in our dominions at the beginning of a war, they ſhall be apprehended without injury of their bodies and goods, till it be known to us, or to our chief juſticiary, how the merchants of our country are treated by the nation at war againſt us; and if ours are ſafe there, the others ſhall be ſafe in our country.

42. It ſhall be lawful for any perſon in future, to go out of our kingdom, and to return ſafely and ſecurely, by land and by water, ſaving his allegiance, except in time of war, for ſome ſhort ſpace,

for

litatem regni, exceptis impriſonatis et utlagatis ſecundùm legem regni, et gente de terrâ contra nos gwerrivâ, et mercatoribus de quibus fiat ſicut prædictum eſt.

43. Si quis tenuerit de aliqua eſchaeta, ſicut de honore Walingeford, Notingeham, Bon', Lainkaſtr', vel de aliis eſchaetis quæ ſunt in manu noſtrâ et ſunt baroniæ, et obierit, hæres ejus non det aliud relevium, nec faciat nobis aliud ſervitium, quam faceret baroni ſi baronia illa eſſet in manu baronis; et nos eodem modo eam tenebimus quo baro eam tenuit.

44. Homines qui manent extra foreſtam non veniant de cetero coram juſticiariis noſtris de foreſta per communes ſummonitiones, niſi ſint in placito vel pleggii alicujus vel aliquorum qui attachiati ſint pro foreſta.

45. Nos non faciemus juſticiarios, conſtabularios, vicecomites, vel ballivos, niſi de talibus qui ſciant legem regni et eam bene velint obſervare.

46. Omnes barones qui fundaverunt abbatias unde habent chartas regum Angliæ, vel antiquam tenuram, habeant earum cuſtodiam cum vacaverint, ſicut habere debent.

47. Omnes foreſtæ quæ afforeſtatæ ſunt tempore noſtro, ſtatim deafforeſtentur; et ita fiat de ripariis quæ per nos tempore noſtro poſitæ ſunt in defenſo.

48. Omnes malæ conſuetudines de foreſtis et warennis, et de foreſtariis et warennariis, vicecomitibus et eorum miniſtris, ripariis et earum cuſtodibus, ſtatim inquirantur in quolibet comitatu, per duodecim

for the common good of the kingdom, except priſoners, outlaws according to the law of the land, and people of the nation at war againſt us, and merchants, who ſhall be treated as is ſaid above.

43. If any one holds of any eſcheat, as of the honor of Wallingford, Nottingham, Boulogne, Lancaſter, or of other eſcheats which are now in our hands and are baronies, and ſhall die, his heir ſhall not give any other relief, or do any other ſervice to us, than he would have done to the baron, if that barony had been in the hands of the baron; and we will hold it in the ſame manner that the baron held it.

44. Men who dwell without the foreſt, ſhall not come, for the future, before our juſticiaries of the foreſt, on a common ſummons, unleſs they be parties in a plea, or ſureties for ſome perſon or perſons who are attached for the foreſt.

45. We will not make men juſticiaries, conſtables, ſheriffs, or bailiffs, unleſs they underſtand the law of the land, and are well diſpoſed to obſerve it.

46. All barons who have founded abbeys, of which they have charters of the kings of England, or ancient tenure, ſhall have the cuſtody of them when they become vacant, as they ought to have.

47. All foreſts which have been made in our time, ſhall be immediately diſforeſted; and the ſame ſhall be done with water-banks which have been fenced in our time.

48. All evil cuſtoms of foreſts and warrens, and of foreſters and warreners, ſheriffs and their officers, water-banks and their keepers, ſhall immediately be inquired into by twelve knights of the ſame

cim milites juratos de eodem comitatu, qui debent eligi per probos homines ejuſdem comitatûs; et, infra quadraginta dies poſt inquiſitionem factam, penitus ita quod numquam revocentur deleantur per eoſdem; ita quod nos hoc ſciamus priùs, vel juſticiarius noſter, ſi in Angliâ non fuerimus.

49. Omnes obſides et chartas ſtatim reddemus quæ liberatæ fuerunt nobis ab Anglicis in ſecuritatem pacis vel fidelis ſervitii.

50. Nos amovebimus penitus de balliis parentes Gerardi de Athyes, quòd de cetero nullam habeant balliam in Anglia; Engelardum de Cygony, Andream, Petrum, et Gyonem, de Cancell'; Gyonem de Cygony, Galfridum de Martyni, et fratres ejus, Philippum Mark, et fratres ejus, et Galfridum nepotem ejus, et totam ſequelam eorumdem.

51. Et ſtatim poſt pacis reformationem amovebimus de regno omnes alienigenas milites, baliſtarios, ſervientes, ſtipendiarios, qui venerint cum equis et armis ad nocumentum regni.

52. Si quis fuerit diſſeiſitus vel elongatus per nos, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum, de terris, caſtallis, libertatibus vel jure ſuo, ſtatim ea ei reſtituemus; et ſi contentio ſuper hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat per judicium viginti quinque baronum, de quibus fit mentio inferius, in ſecuritate pacis: de omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis diſſeiſitus fuerit vel elongatus ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum per Henricum regem patrem noſtrum, vel per Ricardum regem fratrem noſtrum, quæ in manu noſtra habemus vel quæ alii tenent quæ nos oporteat warantizare, reſpectum

county, upon oath, who ſhall be choſen by the good men of the ſame county; and within forty days after the inquiſition is made, they ſhall be quite deſtroyed by them, never to be reſtored; provided this be previouſly notified to us, or to our juſticiary, if we are not in England.

49. We will immediately reſtore all hoſtages and charters which have been delivered to us by the Engliſh, in ſecurity of the peace, and of their faithful ſervice.

50. We will remove from their offices the relations of Gerard de Athyes, that for the future they ſhall have no office in England; Engelard de Cygony, Andrew, Peter, and Gyone de Chancell, Gyone de Cygony, Geoffrey de Martin, and his brothers; Philip Mark, and his brothers; and Geoffrey, his nephew; and all their followers.

51. And immediately after the concluſion of the peace, we will remove out of the kingdom all foreign knights, croſs-bow-men, ſervants, and ſtipendiary ſoldiers, who have come with horſes and arms to the moleſtation of the kingdom.

52. If any have been diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed by us, without a legal verdict of their peers, of their lands, caſtles, liberties, or rights, we will immediately make reſtitution; and if a queſtion ſhall ariſe on this head, it ſhall be determined by the verdict of the twenty-five barons, mentioned below, for the ſecurity of the peace. But as to all thoſe things of which any one hath been diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed, without a legal verdict of his peers, by king Henry our father, or king Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or others hold with our warrants, we

ſhall

ſpectum habebimus uſque ad communem terminum crúce-ſignatorum, exceptis illis de quibus placitum motum fuit vel inquiſitio facta per præceptum noſtrum ante ſuſceptionem crucis noſtræ; cum autem redierimus de peregrinatione noſtrâ vel ſi forte remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtrâ, ſtatim inde plenam juſticiam exhibebimus.

53. Eundem autem reſpectum habebimus et eodem modo de juſticia exhibenda de foreſtis deafforeſtandis vel remanſuris foreſtis quas Henricus pater noſter vel Ricardus frater noſter afforeſtaverunt; et de cuſtodiis terrarum quæ ſunt de alieno feodo, cujuſmodi cuſtodias hucuſque habuimus, occaſione feodi quod aliquis de nobis tenuit per ſervitium militare; et de abbatiis quæ fundatæ fuerint in feodo alterius quam noſtro, in quibus dominus feodi dixerit ſe jus habere; et cum redierimus vel ſi remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtrâ, ſuper hiis conquerentibus plenam juſticiam ſtatim exhibebimus.

54. Nullus capiatur nec impriſonetur propter appellum feminæ, de morte alterius quam viri ſui.

55. Omnes fines qui injuſte et contra legem terræ facti ſunt nobiſcum, et omnia amerciamenta facta injuſtè et contra legem terræ, omninò condonentur, vel fiat inde per judicium viginti quinque baronum, de quibus fit mentio inferius, in ſecuritate pacis, vel per judicium majoris partis eorumdem, unà cum predicto Stephano Cant. archiepiſcopo, ſi intereſſe poterit, et aliis quos ſecum ad hoc vocare voluerit; et ſi intereſſe non poterit, nihilominus procedat negotium ſine eo, ita quod ſi aliquis vel aliqui

ſhall have reſpite till the common term of the cruſards, except thoſe concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquiſition taken by our precept, before our taking the croſs. But as ſoon as we ſhall return from our expedition, or if, by chance, we ſhall not go upon our expedition, we ſhall immediately do complete juſtice therein.

53. We ſhall have the ſame reſpite, and in the ſame manner, concerning the juſtice to be done about diſoreſting or continuing the foreſts which Henry our father, or Richard our brother, had made, and about the wardſhip of lands which are of the fee of ſome other perſon, but the wardſhip of which we have hitherto had, on account of a fee which ſome one held of us by military ſervice; and about abbeys which had been founded in fee of another, and not in ours, in which abbeys the lord of the fee hath claimed a right. And when we ſhall have returned, or if we ſhall deſiſt from our expedition, we ſhall immediately do complete juſtice in all theſe pleas.

54. No man ſhall be apprehended or impriſoned on the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other man than her huſband.

55. All fines that have been made with us unjuſtly, or contrary to the law of the land, and all amerciaments that have been impoſed unjuſtly, or contrary to the law of the land, ſhall be remitted or diſpoſed of by the verdict of the twenty-five barons, mentioned below, for the ſecurity of the peace, or by the verdict of the major part of them, together with Stephen archbiſhop of Canterbury, if he can be preſent, and others whom he may think proper to bring with him; and if he cannot

qui de prædictis viginti quinque baronibus fuerint in ſimili querela, amoveantur quantum ad hoc judicium, et alii loco illorum per reſiduos de eiſdem viginti quinque tantum ad hoc faciendum electi et jurati ſubſtituantur.

56. Si nos diſſaiſivimus vel elongavimus Walenſes de terris vel libertatibus vel rebus aliis, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum, in Angliâ vel in Walliâ, eis ſtatim reddantur; et, ſi contentio ſuper hoc orta fuerit, tunc inde fiat in marchia per judicium parium ſuorum, de tenementis Angliæ ſecundum legem Angliæ, de tenementis Walliæ ſecundum legem Walliæ, de tenementis marchiæ ſecundum legem marchiæ: idem facient Walenſes nobis et noſtris.

57. De omnibus autem illis de quibus aliquis Walenſium diſſaiſitus fuerit vel elongatus, ſine legali judicio parium ſuorum, per Henricum regem patrem noſtrum, vel Ricardum regem fratrem noſtrum, quæ nos in manu noſtrâ habemus vel quæ alii tenent, quæ nos oporteat warantizare, reſpectum habebimus uſque ad communem terminum cruce-ſignatorum, illis exceptis de quibus placitum motum fuit vel inquiſitio facta per præceptum noſtrum ante ſuſceptionem crucis noſtræ: cum autem redierimus, vel ſi forte remanſerimus a peregrinatione noſtrâ, ſtatim eis inde plenam juſticiam exhibebimus, ſecundum leges Walenſium et partes predictas.

58. Nos reddemus filium Lewellini ſtatim, et omnes obſides de Walliâ, et chartas quæ nobis liberatæ

cannot be preſent, the buſineſs ſhall proceed without him: but if one or more of the twenty-five barons have a ſimilar plea, let them be removed from that particular trial, and others, elected and ſworn by the reſidue of the ſame twenty-five, be ſubſtituted in their room, only for that trial.

56. If we have diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed any Welſhmen of their lands, liberties, or other rights without a legal verdict of their peers, in England or in Wales, they ſhall be immediately reſtored to them; and if a queſtion ſhall ariſe, let it be determined in the marches by the verdict of their peers, if the tenement be in England, according to the law of England; if the tenement be in Wales, according to the law of Wales; if the tenement be in the marches, according to the law of the marches. The Welſh ſhall do the ſame to us and our ſubjects.

57. But concerning thoſe things of which any Welſhman hath been diſſeiſed or diſpoſſeſſed without a legal verdict of his peers, by king Henry our father, or king Richard our brother, which we have in our hand, or others hold with our warranty, we ſhall have reſpite, until the common term of the cruſards, except thoſe concerning which a plea had been moved, or an inquiſition taken, by our precept, before we took the croſs. But as ſoon as we ſhall return from our expedition; or if, by chance, we ſhall not go upon our expedition, we ſhall immediately do complete juſtice therein, according to the laws of Wales, and the parts aforeſaid.

58. We will immediately deliver up the ſon of Lewellyn, and all the hoſtages of Wales, and the

ratæ fuerunt in ſecuritatem pacis.

59. Nos faciemus Alexandro regi Scottorum de ſororibus ſuis et obſidibus reddendis, et libertatibus ſuis et jure ſuo, ſecundùm formam in qua faciemus aliis baronibus noſtris Angliæ, niſi aliter eſſe debeat per chartas quas habemus de Willielmo patre ipſius, quondam rege Scottorum; et hoc erit per judicium parium ſuorum in curia noſtra.

60. Omnes autem iſtas conſuetudines predictas et libertates quas nos conceſſimus in regno noſtro tenendas, quantum ad nos pertinet, erga noſtros omnes de regno noſtro, tam clerici quam laici obſervent quantum ad ſe pertinet erga ſuos.

61. Cum autem pro Deo, et ad emendationem regni noſtri, et ad melius ſopiendum diſcordiam inter nos et barones noſtros ortam, hæc omnia predicta conceſſerimus, volentes ea integrâ et firmâ ſtabilitate gaudere in perpetuum, facimus et concedimus eis ſecuritatem ſubſcriptam; videlicet quòd barones eligant viginti quinque barones de regno quos voluerint, qui debeant pro totis viribus ſuis obſervare, tenere, et facere obſervari, pacem et libertates quas eis conceſſimus, et hac preſenti chartâ noſtrâ confirmavimus; ita ſcilicet quod ſi nos, vel juſticiarius noſter, vel ballivi noſtri, vel aliquis de miniſtris noſtris, in aliquo erga aliquem deliquerimus, vel aliquem articulorum pacis aut ſecuritatis tranſgreſſi fuerimus, et delictum oſtenſum fuerit quatuor baronibus de prædictis viginti quinque baronibus, illi quatuor barones accedant ad nos, vel ad juſticiarium noſtrum ſi fuerimus extra regnum, proponentes nobis exceſſum, petent ut exceſſum

the charters which have been given to us for ſecurity of the peace.

59. We ſhall do to Alexander king of Scotland, concerning the reſtoration of his ſiſters and hoſtages, and his liberties and rights, according to the form in which we act to our other barons of England, unleſs it ought to be otherwiſe by charters which we have from his father William late king of Scotland; and that by the verdict of his peers in our court.

60. But all theſe above-mentioned cuſtoms and liberties which we have granted in our kingdom, to be enjoyed by our tenants, as far as concerns us, all our clergy and laity ſhall obſerve towards their tenants, as far as concerns them.

61. But ſince we have granted all theſe things for the honor of God, and the amendment of our kingdom, and for the better extinction of the diſcord ariſing between us and our barons, being deſirous that theſe things ſhould poſſeſs entire and unſhaken ſtability for ever, we give and grant to them the ſecurity underwritten, viz. That the barons may elect twenty-five barons of the kingdom, whom they pleaſe, who ſhall, with their whole power, obſerve and keep, and cauſe to be obſerved, the peace and liberties which we have granted to them, and have confirmed by this our preſent charter, in this manner. That if we, or our juſticiary, or our bailiffs, or any of our officers, ſhall have injured any one in any thing, or ſhall have violated any article of the peace or ſecurity, and the injury ſhall have been notified to four of the twenty-five barons, theſe four barons ſhall come to us, or to our juſticiary if we are out

of

exceſſum illum ſine dilatione faciamus emendari; et ſi nos exceſſum non emendaverimus, vel (ſi fuerimus extra regnum) juſticiarius noſter non emendaverit infra tempus quadraginta dierum computandum a tempore quo monſtratum fuerit nobis vel juſticiario noſtro ſi extra regnum fuerimus, prædicti quatuor barones referant cauſam illam ad reſiduos de viginti quinque baronibus; et illi viginti quinque barones cum communâ totius terræ diſtringent et gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt, ſcilicet per captionem caſtrorum, terrarum, poſſeſſionum, et aliis modis quibus poterunt, donec fuerit emendatum ſecundùm arbitrium eorum, ſalvâ perſonâ noſtrâ et reginæ noſtræ et liberorum noſtrorum; et cum fuerit emendatum, intendent nobis ſicut prius fecerunt. Et quicumque voluerit de terrâ juret quòd ad prædicta omnia exequenda parebit mandatis prædictorum viginti quinque baronum, et quòd gravabit nos pro poſſe ſuo cum ipſis; et nos publicè et liberè damus licentiam jurandi cuilibet qui jurare voluerit et nulli umquam jurare prohibebimus. Omnes autem illos de terrâ qui per ſe et ſponte ſuâ noluerint jurare viginti quinque baronibus de diſtringendo et gravando nos cum eis, faciemus jurare eoſdem de mandato noſtro, ſicut predictum eſt. Et ſi aliquis de viginti quinque baronibus deceſſerit, vel a terrâ receſſerit, vel aliquo alio modo impeditus fuerit quo minus iſta prædicta poſſet exequi, qui reſidui fuerint de prædictis viginti quinque baronibus eligant alium loco ipſius pro arbitrio ſuo, qui ſimili modo erit juratus quo et ceteri. In omnibus autem quæ iſtis

of the kingdom, and making known to us the exceſs committed, require that we cauſe that exceſs to be redreſſed without delay; and if we ſhall not have redreſſed the exceſs, or, if we have been out of the kingdom, our juſticiary ſhall not have redreſſed it, within the term of forty days, computing from the time in which it ſhall have been made known to us, or to our juſticiary if we have been out of the kingdom, the ſaid four barons ſhall lay that cauſe before the reſidue of the twenty-five barons; and theſe twenty-five barons, with the community of the whole land, ſhall diſtreſs and haraſs us by all the ways in which they can, that is, by the taking of our caſtles, lands, and poſſeſſions, and by other means in their power, till the exceſs ſhall have been redreſſed, according to their verdict; ſaving our perſon, and the perſons of our queen and children; and when it has been redreſſed, they ſhall behave to us as they had done before: and any perſon of our land may ſwear, that he will obey the commands of the twenty-five barons, in accompliſhing all the things aforeſaid, and that with them he will haraſs us to the utmoſt of his power: and we publicly and freely give leave to every one to ſwear who is willing to ſwear; and we will never forbid any man to ſwear. But all thoſe of our land, who, of themſelves, and their own accord, are unwilling to ſwear to the twenty-five barons, to diſtreſs and haraſs us together with them, ſhall be compelled by our command, to ſwear as aforeſaid. And if any one of the twenty-five barons ſhall die, or remove out of the land, or in any other way

ſhall

iſtis viginti quinque baronibus committuntur exequenda, ſi forte ipſi viginti quinque præſentes fuerint, et inter ſe ſuper re aliquâ diſcordaverint, vel aliqui ex eis ſummoniti nolint vel nequeant intereſſe, ratum habeatur et firmum quod major pars eorum qui præſentes fuerint providerit vel præceperit, ac ſi omnes viginti quinque in hoc conſenſiſſent; et prædicti viginti quinque jurent quod omnia antedicta fidelitur obſervabunt, et pro toto poſſe ſuo facient obſervari. Et nos nihil impetrabimus ab aliquo per nos nec per alium, per quod aliqua iſtarum conceſſionum et libertatum revocetur vel minuatur; et, ſi aliquid tale impetratum fuerit, irritum ſit et inane, et numquam eo utemur, per nos nec per alium.

62. Et omnes malas voluntates, indignationes, et rancores, ortos inter nos et homines noſtros clericos et laicos, à tempore diſcordiæ, plenè omnibus remiſimus et condonavimus. Præterea omnes tranſgreſſiones factas occaſione ejuſdem diſcordiæ, à Paſcha anno regni noſtri ſextodecimo uſque ad pacem reformatam, plenè remiſimus omnibus clericis et laicis, et quantum ad nos pertinet plenè condonavimus. Et inſuper fecimus eis fieri litteras teſtimoniales patentes domini Stephani Cant' archi-

ſhall be prevented from executing the things above ſtated, thoſe who remain of the twenty-five barons ſhall elect another in his place, according to their pleaſure, who ſhall be ſworn in the ſame manner as the reſt. But in all thoſe things which are appointed to be done by theſe twenty-five barons, if it happen that all the twenty-five have been preſent and have differed in their opinions about any thing, or if ſome of them who had been ſummoned, would not, or could not be preſent, that which the major part of thoſe who were preſent ſhall have provided and decreed, ſhall be deemed as firm and valid as if all the twenty-five had agreed in it. And the foreſaid twenty-five ſhall ſwear, that they will faithfully obſerve, and, to the utmoſt of their power, cauſe to be obſerved, all the things mentioned above. And we will obtain nothing from any one, by ourſelves, or by another, by which any of theſe conceſſions and liberties may be revoked or diminiſhed. And if any ſuch thing be obtained, let it be void and null; and we will never uſe it, either by ourſelves or by another.

62. And we have fully remitted and pardoned to all men, all the ill-will, virulence, and reſentments which have ariſen between us and our ſubjects, both clergy and laity, from the commencement of the diſcord. Beſides, we have fully remitted to all the clergy and laity, and, as far as belongs to us, we have fully pardoned all tranſgreſſions committed on occaſion of the ſaid diſcord, from Eaſter, in the ſixteenth year of our reign, to the concluſion of the peace. And we have alſo granted

archiepiſcopi, domini Henrici Dublin' archiepiſcopi, et epiſcoporum prædictorum, et magiſtri Pandulfi, ſuper ſecuritate iſta et conceſſionibus præfatis.

63. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus quod Anglicana eccleſia libera ſit. et quod homines in regno noſtro habeant et teneant omnes præfatas libertates, jura et conceſſiones, benè et in pace, liberè et quietè, plenè et integrè, ſibi et hæredibus ſuis, de nobis et hæredibus noſtris, in omnibus rebus et locis in perpetuum, ſicut prædictum eſt. Juratum eſt autem tam ex parte noſtrâ quam ex parte baronum, quod hæc omnia ſupradicta bonâ fide et ſine malo ingenio obſervabuntur. Teſtibus ſupradictis et multis aliis. Data per manum noſtram in prato quod vocatur Runingmed', inter Windeleſorum et Stanes, quinto decimo die Junii, anno regni noſtri ſeptimo decimo.

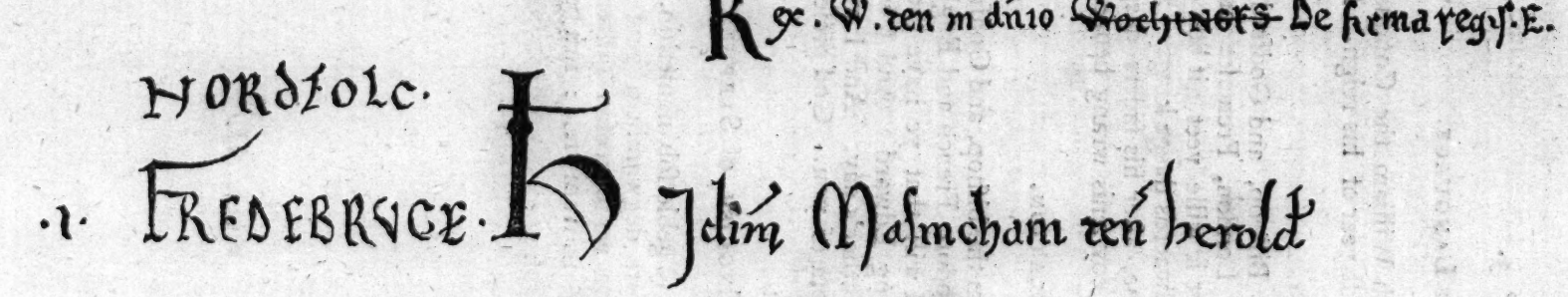
granted them teſtimonial letters-patent of Stephen archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry archbiſhop of Dublin, and of the biſhops above-mentioned, and of Pandulf, concerning the ſecurity, and the aforeſaid conceſſions.

63. Wherefore, our will is, and we firmly command, that the church of England be free, and that the men in our kingdom have and hold all the foreſaid liberties, rights, and conceſſions, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and entirely, to them and their heirs, of us and our heirs, in all things and places for ever, as aforeſaid. An oath hath been taken, as well on our part, as on the part of the barons, that all theſe things above enumerated ſhall be obſerved in good faith, and without any evil intention, before the above-named witneſſes, and many others. Given by our hand, in the meadow, which is called *Runingmede*, between Windſor and Staines, this fifteenth day of June, in the ſeventeenth year of our reign.

The very important inſtrument which we have here preſented to the reader was tranſcribed from an authentic copy, depoſited in the library of the Britiſh Muſeum. It differs in ſeveral paſſages from the copy which appears in Matthew Paris's Hiſtory; but the variations are of little moment.

N° 2.

SPECIMEN of the LANGUAGE and CHARACTER of DOMESDAY-BOOK.



TRANSLATION.

King William (the Conqueror) holds in demeſne Wochinges, of the King's Farm. John Malmcham held it in the time of Harold. NORFOLK, *Fredebruge*.

No 3.

Specimen of Language.

The following is a charter which William the Conqueror granted to the city of London in the firſt year of his reign. It is written in the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

William King, greets William Biſceop, and Godfred Porterefan, and ealle ya burghwarn binnen London, Frenciſce and Engliſce, frendlice. And ic kiden eoy, yeet ic wille yeet git ben ealras weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on Edwaerds daege kings. And ic wille yeet aelc child by his fader yrfrume, after his faders daege. And ic nelle ge wolian, yeet ænig man eoy ænis wrang beode. God eoy heald.

Translation.

William the king greets William the biſhop, and Godfrey the portreeve, and all the burgeſſes in London, French and Engliſh, friendly.—And I notify to you, that I will that ye have the ſame laws which prevailed in the days of king Edward. And I will that each child be his father's heir after his father's day. And I will not ſuffer the leaſt wrong to be done to any one of you. God preſerve you.

The Lord's Prayer, in the English of Stephen's Reign.

Fader ure, the art on heofone, ſy gebletſob namethin, ſwa ſwa on heofone and on eorthan; breod ure degwamlich, geof us to daeg; and forgeof us ageltes ura, ſwa ſwa we forgeofan agiltendum urum. And ne led us on coſtunge, ac alys us fram yfele: ſwa beo it.

14 NO 63

END OF VOL. II.